NOT ALL THE SAME:
DISAGGREGATING AND IDENTIFYING PARTISAN POLITICAL VIEWS IN ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

by
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Abstract

This study looks to address gaps in the existing literature by examining the salience of ethnicity in impacting partisan political views among Asian Americans. Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group in the United States. Yet, this diverse community is understudied in both the national political discourse and in political science, compared to other racial communities. The existing studies related to Asian Americans and the political landscape generally aggregate diverse ethnic communities, with potentially diverse political views, into a single Asian American political bloc based on race. The resulting explanatory theories for Asian American political activity center on explaining political participation, such as voting in an election or joining political interests groups. However, these theories do not examine the views of Asian American individuals or communities towards key partisan political issues, nor do they examine how unique ethno-cultural factors contribute to issue view formation. Through analyzing respondent data from the National Asian American Survey 2016 Post-Election Survey, this study identified that ethnicity plays a significant role in impacting several partisan political issue views. The issues studied included: political party affiliation; approval for a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants; legalization of abortion; legal protections for lesbian, gay, and transgender individuals; and views on the efficacy of the Affordable Care Act. This analysis revealed the diversity of partisan political views among individual ethnic communities, which are framed by a set of contributory factors that are unique to each ethnic community. These findings place the existing Asian American race-wide explanatory theories in a new context. The study reveals that deeper analysis of Asian American ethnicities is warranted in order to form a more holistic set of

theories of interaction between individuals, communities, socio-economic conditions, ethno-cultural factors, and the political landscape.

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For my partner, Elizabeth Nelson, and for my parents, Christine Michela-Bellomy and John Bellomy. All of their constant support and guidance enabled this research to be conducted and completed.

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I. Introduction

The American political landscape is defined by a set of dynamically shifting voting blocs. The landmark 1972 domestic study by Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie laid a theoretical foundation for understanding voting blocs as not only ideational in character—but rather as expressions of socio-economic, regional, gender, religious, ethno-cultural, and racial experience. There has, however, been uneven treatment with regard to understanding the political saliency of various racial and ethno-cultural identities. Across both academic research and popular political discourse, the prevailing focus has been placed on understanding the political expression of African American and Latino/Latina or Hispanic American[1] identities while generally overlooking the role of Asian American identity.

Asian American communities are deserving of political attention, even from a pre-theoretical perspective. They make up the fastest-growing racial group in the United States and have the largest percentage of foreign-born members of any racial group (US Census Bureau 2012). The growth in the Asian American population over the past several decades has been similarly rapid—a 99% increase from 1980 to 1990, a 43% increase from 1990 to 2000, and a 45% increase from 2000 to 2010[2] (Hoeffel et al. 2012). Growth rates for certain Asian American ethnic groups are considerably larger. From 2000 to 2010 the number of Pakistani Americans increased by 100%, Singaporean Americans by 123%, Burmese Americans by 499%, and Bhutanese Americans by 9069% (sic). The historically-large Chinese American and Japanese American communities grew by 40%

[1] Henceforth to be referred to as African American communities and Latino/Latina American communities. This is intended to conform to current prevailing practices in American social sciences, and is not meant to ignore or denigrate the broad ethnic and cultural diversity within these communities.
[2] From 2000 onwards, this includes individuals who marked Asian as a component of a multi-racial identity which was not offered as a choice previously.

and 13%, respectively. All Asian American ethnic groups, combined, made-up 5.9% of the total United States population in 2010. By 2060, Asian Americans are projected to make up at least 9.6% of the total population, not including those who would identify as mixed-race (Colby and Ortman 2015).

Why, then, have Asian Americans been generally ignored by the national political discourse? First, as evidenced by the list above, the term "Asian American" embraces an incredibly diverse community—linguistically, culturally, and religiously. There is little historical or experiential precedent for uniting Asian American ethnic groups into a single overarching category, other than a common ancestral background in the Asian continent[3]. Elected representatives may have a general misunderstanding of the political views and interests of Asian American communities. Empirically speaking, certain blanket views appear broadly-held within popular political logic—particularly the incorrect assumption that a theoretical conservative cultural background among some ethnic groups both will apply to all Asian Americans and will result in votes favoring the Republican Party or the more conservative Democratic primary candidate (Hsu 2013; Chotiner 2008). Yet, in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, exit polls indicated that 76% and 77%, respectively, of self-identified Asian Americans voted for President Barack Obama, compared to 52.9% and 51.1% of the overall population (Tran 2013). In 2016, Asian Americans overall voted for Senator Hilary Clinton over Donald Trump with a split of either 79% to 18%, or 65% to 27% (depending on which exit polling methodology is used) (Wang 2017). This is compared to Clinton's 48% and Trump's 46% among the overall

[3] While individuals from the Middle East, Central Asian, and Iran are Asian as well, they are often included as part of the "Caucasian" race by surveys and the US Census. The current study will follow this precedent, in order to focus on the peoples of South, Southeast, and Northeast Asia. However, this should not be construed as a disregard for the racial discrimination faced by members of the earlier-listed communities or their unique position in the American political landscape.

population (Lerer 2016). The historical concentration of Asian American communities in Democratic-bastion states such as California, Washington, or New York may also serve to dis-incentivize either party's operators from attempting to incorporate Asian American communities into a sympathetic voting bloc. However, Asian Americans populations are rapidly growing in Arizona, Minnesota, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—all of which are primed to be hotly-contested presidential and congressional battlegrounds over the foreseeable future. Races in these states are likely to revolve around small voting margins, particularly in suburban districts, where, incidentally, many Asian American communities are based (Lai 2011). As such, Asian American communities will likely continue to grow in potential political influence yet without the corresponding breadth of academic research that has been dedicated towards African American or Latino/Latina American political habits.

This study looks to begin filling in gaps in the existing popular political and academic analysis through further exploration of the diversity in partisan political views among Asian American communities. The study takes a disaggregated view to examine ten specific ethnic communities[4] and the factors that contribute to partisan political views among these communities' members. Leveraging 2016 survey data, the study uses an ordered logistic regression to determine whether ethnicity plays a statistically significant role in influencing individuals' views on five partisan political issues. Further, the study examines whether the explanatory theories of Asian American political participation

[4] These include Bangladeshi American, Cambodian American, Chinese American, Filipino American, Hmong American, Indian American, Japanese American, Korean American, Pakistani American, and Vietnamese American communities. Other communities are not examined in-depth due to their information being excluded from the National Asian American Survey 2016 Post-Election Survey, which serves as the primary dataset for this analysis.

presented in the existing literature appear to remain valid and whether they ought to be enhanced to incorporate ethnicity-specific findings.

II. The Current Literature

Throughout the 20th century, there has been a small, yet prolific, community of academics who have attempted to address some of these questions, and thus have struggled against the prevailing trends in identity-based socio-political science. Until the late-1980s this group was dominated near-exclusively by historic descriptive research focused on the experiences of specific ethnic groups in the United States. The weakening of the Black-White paradigm and the increased ease of data collection through the addition of new ethno-racial categories on the US Census, drove the emergence of a quantitative approach to examining Asian American political practices. While many researchers in the field continue to use descriptive research to contextualize analytic study, there has been a clear divergence of social scientists from historians. Given the research interests under question, this study will focus primarily on academic pieces that examine Asian American political issues from a solidly social sciences perspective.

Among the existing field of research, there are six broad categories of studies. The differences between these categories are primarily defined by the scope of the respective research and its specific intent, with individual academics often contributing to several different research categories. These categories include: (1) contextual studies presenting methodologies by which to examine Asian American politics; (2) omnibus surveys that present new datasets for examination; (3) secondary analysis studies of aggregated Asian American communities, (4) primary analysis studies of aggregated Asian American communities based on small-sample sizes (5) studies focused on specific

ethnic groups; and (6) qualitative studies examining histories of Asian American prejudice and ways of overcoming victimization through pan-Asian political activism. Studies in these six categories extensively examine the historical experiences of Asian American groups and the contemporary experiences of relatively localized communities from several angles. In general, the studies strive to use both qualitative and quantitative data to analyze the rates of political participation among various Asian American groups, and eventually to create explanatory theories of Asian American political participation. However, very few of these studies have examined variances in partisan political views among Asian American groups and almost no holistic theories of Asian American partisan political views have been developed at either the ethnic or racial level of analysis. As this current study is meant to begin exploring these gaps, it is necessary to first examine the existing literature on the interaction between Asian Americans and the American political landscape.

A. Contextual Studies

The historic absence of a well-developed theory of Asian American political participation led to the commissioning of several broad-ranging studies (Wong et al. 2011). These have been generally descriptive in nature and have strived to provide at least a basic framework for understanding the intersection of Asian American communities and the United States political landscape.

Perhaps the most broadly-influential and widely-cited work in this group is the 1991 study by Bruce Cain, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole Uhlaner entitled "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans." Departing from both the Black-White paradigm (Myrdal 1944; Hacker 1992) and Different Trajectories paradigms

(Omi and Winnant 1986), the authors systematically link the experience of discrimination to the development of political tendencies among Latino/Latina Americans and Asian Americans. This Minority Group Hypothesis posits that the specific type of discrimination drives the degree of political activism. As Latino/Latina Americans generally face a more extreme degree of collective economic oppression when compared to Asian Americans, the drive for Latino-/Latina-based political activism is more immediate, the Hypothesis stipulates. For Asian Americans, discrimination is pursued on an individual basis via social interaction (e.g., jokes, slurs, microaggressions) and thus the impetus for collective political activism is lessened. This conclusion over-aggregates Asian American communities and over-simplifies the experiences of individual Asian Americans. Indeed, the Hypothesis may also over-aggregate and over-simplify the experiences of individual Latino/Latina Americans. Yet, it holds a pivotal role in driving the divergence of the social sciences from the pure historical view of Asian Americans.

Numerous studies have transformed Cain, Kiweiet, and Uhlaner's Minority Group Hypothesis into a broader examination of the linkages between the history of Asian American discrimination and contemporary political action (Lien 2001a; Chang 2001; Gotanda 2001; Nakanishi 2001; Wong and Halgin 2006; Aoki and Takeda 2008; Gotanda 2010). Each work further solidifies the concept of Asian American racial and ethnic identities as politically meaningful categories, based on the unifying factors of historically-institutionalized racism. The structure for each piece is near-identical and conforms to the model set by the Minority Group Hypothesis. The texts outline the string of anti-Asian abuses exhibited from the 19th century onward and draw a continuum into the civil rights struggles of the modern era. For the present time period, the focus is

placed on how Asian Americans under-participate in the political system—particularly in voting—when compared to other minority groups. Yet each author stumbles in directly connecting the historical to the contemporary. The link between the two is generally supported only with popular media pieces and some in-person interviews. When quantitative data is used, it is through the medium of the US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS)—with questions that are not specific to the Asian American experience or to partisan political views. Without additional quantitative information, such as multi-geography large-sample survey data, these descriptive studies do not provide a firm foundation for extrapolating the historical or contemporary experiences of individuals or localized communities into broader theories of political activity for either Asian Americans overall or for specific ethnic communities. Don Nakanishi (2001) and Gordon Chang (2001) openly acknowledge the limitation of their studies and argue that the research must expand beyond the current discrimination-to-participation trends to embrace a more holistic picture of Asian American political participation and action.

Nakanishi (1986) personally presented a methodology for focusing Asian American political research 15 years prior to his 2001 paper. He is joined by several other scholars who, while recognizing the contribution of the context-setting studies, have called for more novel forms of research (Lai 2001; Jacob 2006; Chang 2008). Their suggested methodologies focus on diving deeper into the partisan political views among members of various Asian American communities, rather than relying on black-box political participation categories (e.g., voting rates, campaign donations sizes, or number of political organizations). These texts call for an improved understanding of the complex ways in which individual communities interact with American politics.

B. Omnibus Surveys

In an attempt to answer this call and to add quantitative data to the field, several broad omnibus surveys have been commissioned which explicitly focus on the Asian American socio-political experience. The Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), conducted from 2000-2001, was the first "multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-regional" study to focus squarely on Asian Americans' experiences. Pei-te Lien, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong presented their findings in the 2004 manuscript, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community*. Through addressing a broad range of ethnic and socio-economic elements, the authors find statistically significant correlations with regard to voting levels, donations, volunteerism, party allegiance, and partisanship. While absolutely groundbreaking, the PNAAPS does leave significant gaps that remain to be filled. Methodologically, the survey only examined individuals living in the Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York metropolitan areas who have family names deriving from Asian languages. This excluded both Asian Americans living outside these zones (particularly in politically-contested swing states) as well as many Asian Americans with multi-racial parentage. Additionally, though the Survey's questions were extensive, they neglect to address the specific issue-views (e.g., health care, abortion, immigration) associated with choices of ideological partisanship or party preference.

The 2008 National Asian American Survey (NAAS) attempted to rectify the shortcoming of the PNAAPS by increasing the sample set by over 400% and expanding to cover Asian Americans nationwide, including in the several swing-states. The full-length description of the NAAS (Wong et al. 2011) centers on creating statistically

significant causal models for five pillars of political participation: voting, political donations, contacting government officials, community activism, and protest activity.

The only surveys to explore in-depth the specific policy views of Asian Americans are the series of nationwide exit polls conducted by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Foundation (AALDEF) and the now institutional National Asian American Survey organization (along with allied groups). This series of surveys presents a snapshot of Asian American issue priorities and candidate preferences for individual ethnic groups during recent presidential and midterm elections (Yu et al. 2005; Lee et al. 2009; Magpantay 2009; Asian American Justice Center et al. 2013; Tran 2013; Asian American Legal Defense and Education Foundation 2014). While these fill some of the gaps from the 2000-2001 PNAAPS and 2008 NAAS, the exit-polls cannot measure the interests of non-voting Asian Americans, nor do they poll views of mixed-race individuals. The data from these polls has not yet been examined in an academic setting and, as the microdata is not publicly available, has sadly had minimal impact on the current social sciences field.

From the 2012 to 2018 elections, the frequency of nationwide Asian American surveys increased. These were led by many of the same surveyors that built the PNAAPS and 2008 NAAS, and included: the AAPI Asian American Voters in 2014; 2016 AAPI Asian American Voter Survey; NAAS 2016 Pre-Election Survey; NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey; and the 2018 AAPI Asian American Voter Survey (AAPI Data; Ramakrishnan et. al. 2016 & 2017). In general, these surveys diversified the types of questions asked of respondents, including questions related to views on contemporary

political issues and candidate support. Data from the NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey is used in this current study.

C. Asian American Racial Studies—Secondary Analysis

By far the largest category in the field are the secondary analyses using data from the PNAAPS, CPS, 2008 NAAS, and Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality. These studies involve the creation of new index variables in order to create controlled tests for specific aspects of the aggregated Asian American community. The majority of these works can be grouped into one of three sub-sets based on functional concentration: voting and voter registration; party affiliation; and racial-identity formation.

Texts in the first sub-set make various efforts at explaining the low registration and voting rates of Asian Americans—sometimes with contradicting results. One study, by the original PNAAPS authors, argues that nearly all variations in Asian American voting compared to other racial groups can be explained by standard models of socio-economic participation rather than by cultural- or experience-specific traits (Wong, Lien, and Conway 2005). Jun Xu (2005) counters that significantly low voter registration is the key to understanding low voting. She argues, counter-factually, that *ceteris paribus* the difference in voting rates between Asian Americans and other racial groups would disappear in the absence of registration requirements. Two studies (Stoll and Wong 2007; Diaz 2012) take up Xu's argument by displaying that registration obstacles disproportionately affect Asian Americans due to the high percentage of foreign-born immigrants, who are consequently less likely to register due to acculturative stress. Yet, Pei-te Lien (2004), using similar CPS data to Diaz, concludes that exactly the opposite is true—foreign-born Asian Americans are more likely to register to vote than their United

States-born counterparts. Paul Ong, alongside Don Nakanishi (1996) and later with Megan Scott (2009), offer a possible reconciliation to this discrepancy by arguing that registration rates as well as political volunteerism for immigrants increases the longer an individual is in the United States. Thus, during waves of new Asian immigration, participation rates for Asian Americans as a whole will decrease until the new group acclimates.

Several studies within the second sub-set apply this immigrant cultural acclimation model to the adoption of partisan views. These works display that the length of time an immigrant spends in the United States, the more likely he or she is to adopt a partisan worldview (Wong, 2000; Cho and Cain 2001; Phan and Garcia 2009). The exact direction of this partisan development is under much academic debate. While Wendy Cho and Bruce Cain (2001) argue that Asian immigrants and their descendants are drawn to the Democratic Party by experiences of discrimination, other studies conducted over the same timeframe indicate a higher preference for the Republican Party compared to other immigrant groups (Ong and Lee, 2001; Hawley, 2013) particularly among Asian women (Lien 1998; Lien 2001b) and those who identify closely with Asian American heritage (Mangum 2013). Once again, the lack of broad-spectrum or longitudinal studies promotes a high degree of variance in conclusions.

The third sub-set overlaps the previous two by centering on racial identification as a dependent and independent variable. Natalie Mausoka (2006) and the Lien, Conway, and Wong team (2003) posit that the development of pan-Asian racial identity impacts degrees of partisanship, though neither study can confirm the causational arrow between these two variables. Along a similar vein, Kathy Rim finds no direct connection between

racial identity and voting habits but does conclude that a strong relationship exists between pan-Asian identity and non-voting political participation (2009b). Studies by Michael Link and Robert Oldendick (1996) as well as by Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong (2003) attempt to place Asian American identity formation within the nexus of intra-neighborhood relations. Both find that higher degrees of racial diversity lead to lower degrees of both inter-racial stress and co-racial exclusionism.

D. Asian American Racial Studies—Small-Sample Primary Analysis

Departing from the large secondary analysis studies, a small group of scholars has strived to create truly novel research of diverse aspects of the Asian American political experience. However, given the small sample size and unique methodologies for each work, their conclusions are near impossible to extrapolate to larger populations. Two experiments tested the impact of phone-outreach and direct-mailing on Asian American voting rates in Los Angeles (Wong 2005; Bedolla and Michelson 2009). While phone-outreach was more successful than mailing in increasing turnout, the changes in voting rates were too small to be statistically significant. Several studies examine the development of Asian American identity among small groups of high school and college-age youths in California, New York, and Indiana (Cheryan and Monin 2005; Junn and Masuoka 2008; Chan 2011; Tropp et al. 2012; Endo 2014). Though based on different models, each displays continued acculturative stress in attempting to integrate with other racial groups while maintaining a unique Asian American identity. Despite substantively interesting conclusions, there are few precautions taken to ensure that the selected interviewees are reflective of the overall Asian American populations at their schools. Kathy Rim (2009a) and Naomi Hsu (2013) focus on the eventual political expression of

racial and ethnic-identity rather than the development of them. Rim's interviews of Asian American political organization leaders nationwide demonstrate the difficulties in organizing diverse communities against the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill of 2006. Hsu examines the correlation between outreach strategies by the Republican and Democratic Parties towards various Asian American communities in Orange County and San Diego County, California and the political participation by community members. Hsu found that, for the small sample population, there was a statistically significant relationship between identification as Republican and voter registration, when compared against both non-affiliated and Democrat identification. Yet this significance did not extend to political participation beyond voter registration. However, as with similar studies, the examination of partisan political views remains only as a tangential element for understanding political participation rates, rather than a focus area unto itself.

E. Specific Ethnic Group Studies

Recognizing the difficulties in aggregating the entire Asian American population via large- or small-sample size survey, numerous scholars have instead focused on the political actions of specific ethnic groups. These research pieces indicate that, despite the divergence between descriptive and analytic research, the two trends continue to inter-weave. Research pieces by Prema Kurien (2006), Vinod Janardhanan (2013), and Anju Kaduvettoor-Davidson and Arpana Inman (2013) present investigations into the sociological, psychological, and legal stresses faced by Indian Americans—particularly Hindus—in acclimating to a majority Caucasian and Christian nation. While their conclusions are ethno-specific, they provide an effective framework for understanding the experiences of other cultural and religious minorities. Mihye Seo and Seong Gin-

Moon (2013) identify similar acculturative stresses among Korean Americans while focusing on its impact towards co-ethnic versus mainstream media consumption. Due both to acculturative stresses and a history of political repression in their home countries, Vietnamese- and Cambodian American communities have shown particular adeptness in carving out an influential niche within the American political landscape (Collett 2005; Kiang and Tang 2006). Carrying this theory forward, two studies based on medium-sample size surveys indicate that factors in one's originating country continue to impact individuals' political participation in the United States. Pei-te Lien (2008) describes how lineage differences between Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong affect Chinese American political identity-formation even in subsequent United States-born generations. The 2006 study by P. See Lim, Colleen Goldman, and David Branham claims that ethnic Chinese originating from Southeast Asia are much more likely to become Democrats than other Chinese or Southeast Asian groups due to a history of racial oppression prior to entering the United States. Expanding beyond the ethno-specific model, two works scrutinize the comparative experiences of two ethnic groups attempting to gain political influence in the same geographic areas —Indian- and Chinese Americans in Edison, NJ (Aptekar 2009); and Chinese- and Vietnamese Americans in Boston, MA (Liu, Lo, and Watanabe 2009). Though these studies' respective discoveries cannot necessarily be applied beyond their specific contexts, they do provide a foundation for identifying practices best-suited towards increasing the political power of Asian American communities.

F. Qualitative Influence Studies

The final category of research takes up this issue by outlining aspirational models by which to overcome continuing anti-Asian prejudice and achieve greater access to political influence. This group contains the field's more controversial texts, particularly Thomas Kim's *The Racial Logic of Politics* (2007). Kim argues that Asian Americans, as a whole, are prejudicially viewed nationwide as perpetual foreigners who are culturally incompatible with representative democracy. Basing his argument in various media stories and a number of empirical assumptions, the author claims that both the Republican and Democratic Parties internally conspire to exclude Asian Americans as a race due to fear that association with them will lose the Parties support among Caucasian Americans. His solution is for Asian Americans to attempt to shed obedience to a party-based model of politics and instead find Asian-specific outlets for political reform. H. Denis Wu and Tien Tsung Lee (2005) make claims in their examining of media treatment of Asian candidates in three California races, particularly enumerating media usage of supposed Asian-specific qualities such as "shy", "corrupt", or "clannish".

Numerous other authors have worked to identify unique ways for Asian Americans to gain political influence. Suggested strategies have included lobbying for the creation of multi-seat full representation districts (Hill and Richie, 2002); expanding legal challenges using the Voting Rights Act (Lopez, 2008); encouraging disaggregation of post-secondary educational data by ethnic groups (Yu 2006; Pak, Maramba, and Hernandez 2014); and forming new political groups based on multi-ethnic issues interests (Chan, 2001). These suggestions are complemented by a growing literature examining the rise of Asian American politicians and organizations. Works by Yen Le Espiritu

(1992) and Dina Okamoto (2006) have presented qualitative studies into the origination, longevity, and resources of various ethno-specific and pan-Asian lobbying groups. While not an academic study per se, the Congressional Research Service creates a longitudinal report on the identities, party preferences, and committee assignments of every Asian American Senator and Representative, which is updated with each Congressional class (Lorraine 2013). James Lai brings the trends of these various studies down to the micro-level by examining case studies of individual suburban towns across the country where Asian Americans groups and candidates have finally risen to political prominence (2011). These studies reveal that analysis of the political participation and views of Asian Americans is not merely academically worthwhile, but also can produce practical findings that may be applied to real-world political activity and coalition development.

III. Key Questions and Data Structuring

A. Key Questions for Analysis

This study begins exploring some of the gaps in the existing literature. Key questions for analysis were broken into two sections: an analysis of the salience of ethnicity in impacting political views; and testing several existing explanatory theories of Asian American political participation.

Much revolves around whether ethnicity or ethnic community is a relevant factor in shaping the political views of individual Asian American—whether through historical-cultural background, treatment by non-co-ethnic Americans, religion, or other shared characteristics (such as common immigration during a single time period). Furthermore, if ethnicity is statistically salient, do other intermediating factors such as education level or age have a similar impact on political views across all Asian American ethnic groups?

Alternatively, does ethnicity appear to play no significant role in leading to variance in political views among Asian Americans? A finding in favor of the latter—that ethnicity is not significant—would seem to justify the focus on data aggregation at the Asian American race level. A finding in favor of the former—that ethnicity is significant—would seem to encourage further study of the political trends and factors in specific ethnic communities.

This study used a regression analysis of survey data to examine the factors contributing to partisan political views among Asian American individuals. Several partisan political issues were selected to serve as the primary dependent variables: identification as a Republican, Democrat, or Independent; view on establishing a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants; views on abortion; views on legal protection for lesbian, gay, and transgender individuals; and views on the efficacy of the Affordable Care Act in improving the respondent's health care quality. The primary independent variable was the individual respondent's identified ethnic group, though other potentially explanatory factors including age, foreign birth, education, and income level were also tested. The key questions were whether an individual's ethnicity has a statistically significant impact on political views that cannot be explained only by the other analyzed factors.

The second portion of key questions centered on analyzing the explanatory power of existing theories in addressing seeming trends in the dataset. While there are many theories that are deserving of further testing, this study selected two: whether foreign-born immigrants are less likely to vote, due to a number of factors especially barriers to voting among non-English speakers (Stoll and Wong 2007; Maria-Elena Diaz 2012); and

whether the experience and type of discrimination increases the likelihood of political participation as argued by the Minority Group Hypothesis (Cain, Kiweiet, and Uhlaner 1991). The first theory is tested by examining whether foreign birth had a negative impact on the likelihood of voting in the 2016 presidential election, and whether this impact was consistent across all Asian American ethnic groups. The second theory is tested by examining whether respondents' seeming experience of discriminatory "microaggressions" as well as major discriminatory actions had an impact on the likelihood of voting in 2016 as well as the likelihood of voting for the Democratic Party presidential candidate, Senator Hilary Clinton.

B. Selecting the Data Source

There are several recently-conducted nationwide surveys of Asian Americans that are relevant to the research questions. These include: the voting exit polls conducted by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) in every presidential and midterm election from 2008 through 2018 (AALDEF Voting Rights); three sets of surveys conducted in 2014, 2016, and 2018 by the AAPI Data program, led by many of the same academics who created the National Asian American Survey (NAAS) program, in coordination with APIA Vote (AAPI Data); and two successors to the earlier 2008 NAAS Survey which were carried out immediately preceding (Fall 2016) and immediately following (November 2016-February 2017) the 2016 Presidential election (Ramakrishnan et. al. 2016 & 2017). While all of these surveys provide relevant and interesting data, only the datasets for the NAAS 2016 Pre-Election and Post-Election are available for access and analysis. All other datasets are only available via top line numbers as presented in the surveyors' infographics and public reports. Given the

disaggregation focus of this current study, top line numbers were insufficient for analysis. This limited the range of potentially usable data sources to only the NAAS 2016 Pre-Election and Post-Election Surveys.

The NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey was chosen, among these two options, as the primary data source for this study. This was due to several beneficial factors. First, the Post-Election Survey incorporated a broader diversity of ethnic group respondents, particularly individuals with South Asian ethnic backgrounds, who were excluded from the Pre-Election Survey. Second, the specificity and nuance of questions improved between the Pre-Election and the Post-Election versions as the surveyors identified respondents' confusions or unintended selection biases in answering the earlier set of questions. Third, the issue view questions that are the focus of this study were structured around a more detailed 4- or 5-level Likert scale of support options in the Post-Election Survey rather than the simple binary "Support or Oppose" option in the Pre-Election Survey. Finally, the Post-Election Survey presented two series of questions related to respondents' experience of discrimination which were absent from the Pre-Election Survey. This last factor enabled greater analysis of the continued validity of the Minority Group Hypothesis for this current study.

Most of the weaknesses of the Post-Election Survey were also present in the Pre-Election Survey, and are addressed further below. The one significant unique weakness is the potential bias in respondents being asked to share their political views after knowing the actual outcomes of the 2016 election. This may have biased respondents to not admit views that did not receive broad-based support during the election itself. However, the top line numbers reported by the surveyors in reports for respective Surveys for similar

questions appeared to not vary significantly. The benefits of using the Post-Election Survey over the Pre-Election Survey were deemed to outweigh the one unique weakness of the former.

C. Structure of the NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey

The NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey was conducted from November 2016 through February 2017. The Survey was led by Drs. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Jennifer Lee, Taeku Lee, and Janelle Wong with sponsorship from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, California Immigration Research Initiative, and the Wallace H. Coulter Foundation. Telephone numbers were gathered from Catalist as well as other commercial vendors. Potential respondents were selected based on indication of registered voter status, listed race if available, as well as seeming ethnicity as indicated by given and family names. The surveyors also selected potential respondents by location of telephone area code in order to select U.S. Census tracts with a high concentration of Asian Americans (Ramakrishnan et al. 2017). This selection method potentially introduced several critical sampling biases by decreasing the chance of selection among those whose names did not appear to have the characteristics the surveyors associated with Asian ethnicities as well as those individuals who do not live in communities with high concentrations of Asian Americans.[5]

Surveys were conducted via telephone interviews, with the respondents consisting of 63% landline phone numbers and 37% cell phone numbers. Those answering the phone via landline were requested to bring the youngest adult in the house to speak with the interviewer. However, given the increasing elimination of landline telephones in

[5] The potential respondents were selected independently from those who were contacted as part of NAAS 2016 Pre-Election Survey. Those respondents that indicated that they participated in the Pre-Election Survey were encouraged to respond the Post-Election Survey as well.

favor of cell phone ownership only among all, and particularly younger, Americans (Kennedy, McGeeney, and Keeter 2016), it is likely that the large sample size of respondents interviewed via landline skews the overall Survey sample size to be older than the average Asian American population. The average age of all survey respondents was 54, while the average age for the overall Asian American population is 34 (Pew Center 2017). A total of 4,438 Asian American adults were interviewed. Interviewers were able to conduct the interview in English, Spanish, or any one of 12 Asian languages.[6]

The Survey sample size was intentionally selected to concentrate the number of Asian American respondents. Interviews were continued, though, regardless of the racial identity indicated by the respondent during the screening question. The surveyors pre-selected ten Asian American ethnic groups and four Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders ethnic groups as the focus of the Survey. As such, if the respondent identified racially as Asian American or Native Hawaiian and Pacific Island but not as one of the pre-selected ethnic groups, the interview was terminated. The ten pre-selected Asian American ethnic groups consisted of the nine largest Asian American ethnic communities (in order of community size—Chinese-, Indian-, Filipino-, Vietnamese-, Korean-, Japanese-, Pakistani-, Cambodian-, and Hmong Americans) as well as Bangladeshi Americans (Lopez, Ruiz, and Patten 2017). All other Asian American communities were not represented in the Survey, unless the respondent also identified as one of the pre-selected groups. The number of respondents was roughly equal across the ten groups, ranging from 320 respondents (for Hmong Americans and for Pakistani Americans) to

[6] The NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey interviews could be conducted in English, Spanish, Bangladeshi, Cambodian, Cantonese, Hindi, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Mandarin, Tagalog, Urdu, or Vietnamese. The interview was terminated if the respondent could not speak one of these languages.

524 respondents (for Japanese Americans). Given the varying size of these communities in the United States, the equal distribution of respondents resulted in several communities (especially Hmong Americans and Cambodian Americans) being over-represented in the Survey's sample size. These ten ethnic communities became the focus of this paper's analysis.

The Survey instrument was structured into a set of screener questions and ten modules focused either on the respondents' background or their sentiments on various socio-political issues. These ten modules were: Immigrant Background; Voting and the Election; Economic Security and Inequality; Identity and Racial Group Formation; Discrimination; Intergroup Contact; Affirmative Action; LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer [or Questioning]); Repro (related to reproductive health issues); and Demographics. Other than several of the screening questions (such as race and ethnic identification), a respondent could refuse to answer or could indicate that they did not know the answer for any question. Most answers were offered as multiple choices by the interviewer, though some questions relied on the respondent providing a freely constructed response that was later coded into several categories. For many of the dependent variables relevant to this current study, interview answers were structured along a 5-point Likert scale from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree". The structure of these variables necessitated that this current study use an ordered logistic regression methodology in order to assess the relationship between independent binary variables (such as ethnicity) and dependent ordinal variables (such as level of support for specific political policies).

D. Data Preparation

The NAAS 2016 Post-Election microdata set required additional preparation in order to conduct the ordered logistic regression. This involved four major changes: (1) removing all respondents who identified as racial groups other than Asian Americans; (2) converting several independent ordinal variables into binary variables; (3) re-ordering Likert scale variables to range from least liberal to most liberal view, if possible; and (4) creating several index variables related to party identification, affinity with other Asian Americans, and the experience of discrimination.

The first data preparation element involved removing from the data all respondents who did not identify as Asian American. This meant that all respondents who identified as "White", "Black", "Hispanic or Latino", "Native American or American Indian", or "Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander" were excluded from this analysis. Respondents who identified themselves as "Mixed Race", but identified with one of the ten Asian American ethnic groups, were kept in the study. This exclusion of non-Asian American respondents was done to ensure that all data findings only captured effects among self-identified Asian Americans. As noted above, due to the surveyors' structure of the Survey, all Asian Americans who did not identify as at least one of the ten pre-selected ethnic groups were excluded from completing the Survey. Thus, the Asian Americans analyzed in this study only comprise individuals who identified as ethnically Bangladeshi, Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Hmong, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Pakistani, or Vietnamese.

The second data preparation element involved converting the nominal variable of the respondent's ethnicity into ten separate binary variables, one for each ethnicity. A "1"

on this binary variable indicated that the respondent identified as a member of the ethnic group whereas a "0" indicated that the respondent identified as a member of a different ethnic group. This was done in order to enable analysis of the statistical significance of ethnic community identification in impacting issue views.

The third data preparation element involved re-ordering each Likert scale variable to range from the least liberal (or most conservative) to the most liberal (or least conservative) response, if relevant. Thus, for issue view questions that used a 5-point Likert scale from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree", "1" was assigned to the least liberal/most conservative response and "5" was assigned to the most liberal/least conservative response. The 2016 Democratic and Republican Party Platforms were used to identify which side of the spectrum was the most liberal view and which was the most conservative view for each of the issue areas analyzed (Democratic National Committee 2016; Republican National Committee 2016). This was done in order to establish a consistent ideological direction of the scale for each issue view, which was frequently alternated in the course of the actual interview (i.e., some questions assigning "Strongly Disagree" as "1" and others assigning "Strongly Disagree" as "5" even if both questions dealt with the respondent's approval of a Democratic Party platform position).

The fourth data preparation element involved combining multiple sets of questions into several index variables. Such indexes were created for party identification, feeling of affinity with other Asian Americans, the experience of apparent discrimination during an average month, and the experience of major apparent discrimination over the course of the respondent's lifetime. The party identification index combined multiple sequenced questions related to the respondent's party affiliation into a single 7-level

variable. These seven levels took their descriptions from those provided by the respondents in answering the multiple related questions. These were “Strongly Republican”, “Not So Strongly Republican”, “Lean Republican”, “Neither Republican Nor Democrat”, “Lean Democrat”, “Not So Strongly Democrat”, and “Strongly Democrat”. As noted above, these were scaled from least Democrat (“Strongly Republican)” to most Democrat (“Strongly Democrat). A similar process was used to combine the responses to several questions related to whether the respondent felt that what happened to other Asian Americans affected their own life. These were combined to form a 4-level scale with the lowest level being “No Effect” and the highest level being “A Lot of Effect”.

A different method was used to construct the two indexes related to discrimination. The Survey presented a series of questions inquiring whether the respondent regularly experiences any instances of what the surveyors termed, in their findings report, “microaggressions” during an average month. The interviewer then supplied nine different types of microaggression experiences, such as people acting as if the respondent did not speak English or the respondent feeling threatened or harassed. For each microaggression type, the respondent then selected whether or not they experience that microaggression during an average month. A second series of identically structured questions inquired whether the respondent had ever experienced major instances of apparent discrimination, such as being unfairly denied a promotion or being unfairly stopped or searched by police. The Schedule of Racist Events methodology developed by Hope Landrine and Elizabeth Klonoff (1996) served as a model for creating two discrimination indexes, one for each series of questions. The number of “Yes”

answers provided by the respondent for each series of questions were added together to provide a total number of all types of microaggressions experienced by the respondent during the average month and a total number of all types of major discrimination faced over the course of the respondent's life. This approach did not take into account the frequency of each type of discrimination nor was any type of discrimination weighted as being more discriminatory, as information related to this was not included in the survey questions. Thus, for the Microaggression Discrimination Index, a respondent could have between a zero and a ten microaggression experience value, based on the number of questions in the microaggression experience series. For the Major Discrimination Index, a respondent could have between zero and a six major discrimination experience value, based on the number of questions in the major discrimination experience series asked to all respondents (an additional question was asked only of South Asian respondents, and so was removed from incorporation into the Index).

Once these four data preparation changes were made, the data was ready to be analyzed through an ordered logistic regression.

IV. Relationships Between Ethnicity and Partisan Political Views

The NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey data was analyzed in order to explore the relationships between respondent ethnicity and five partisan political views (political party identification, views on immigration, views on abortion, views on LGBTQ protections, and views on the efficacy of the Affordable Care Act).[7] Further analysis was also conducted in order to examine the validity of the Minority Group Hypothesis and related corollaries in explaining voting behavior in the 2016 election. For the sample

[7] For ease of reference, these variables are referred to as the "Party ID", "Immigration", "Abortion", "LGBTQ" and "Health Care" variables, respectively.

population, the analysis revealed statistically significant relationships between many ethnic communities and various partisan political views. This included unique combinations of relationships and degrees of significance for each ethnic community. The Minority Group Hypothesis did appear to have some explanatory power in predicting that experiencing racial microaggressions increases the likelihood of voting and the likelihood of voting for the Democratic candidate. However, the existing Minority Group Hypothesis does not explain the impact of discrimination on individual ethnic communities nor the unique set of relationships between various ethnic communities and partisan political views.

Data was analyzed in R primarily using ordered logistic regressions. This was necessary due to the ordinal form of the dependent variables. A binary logistic regression was used to analyze the two binary dependent variables (whether a registered voter respondent had voted in the 2016 presidential election, and whether they voted for Hilary Clinton)[8]. The primary independent variables analyzed were: respondent ethnicity (coded into binary variables as noted above); respondent age; whether a respondent was born in the United States or outside of the United States; the respondent's total household annual income broken into seven categories ranging from less than $20,000 to greater than $250,000; and the respondent's level of education attained broken into six categories from no schooling attained to graduate or professional degree[9]. For each of these relationships, the null hypothesis was that the independent variables had no statically significant impact on the dependent variable. For most questions, the null hypothesis was framed as identifying as a specific ethnic community (e.g., Bangladeshi American)

[8] For ease of reference, these variables are referred to as the "Vote 2016" and "Vote Clinton" variables.
[9] For ease of reference, these variables are referred to by the additional ethnicity groups and as the "Age", "Foreign Born", "Income", and "Education" variables, respectively.

having no statically significant impact on partisan political views (e.g., support for lesbian, gay, and transgender protections) when age, foreign birth, income, and education were taken into account.

Ordered logistic regressions require a different form of interpretation from traditional multivariate linear regression. In general, ordered logistic regressions do not naturally produce p-values, and so statistical significance was determined by analyzing the parameter confidence intervals at 2.5% and at 97.5%. If the intervals between these two boundaries do not cross zero, (i.e., both the 2.5% and 97.5% confidence intervals are negative numbers, or are both positive numbers) then the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables are statically significant. Additionally, given the complexity of interpreting coefficients in ordered logistic regressions, the magnitude of the relationship impacts was analyzed via calculating the proportional odds ratio. The proportional odds ratio indicates the likelihood of going from one level of the ordinal dependent variable to the next given the same change in the independent variable. For example, this would indicate that for being Bangladeshi American (i.e., going from 0 to 1 on the ethnicity binary variable) the odds for "Strongly Favoring" protections for gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals are 1.11 times higher (or 11% more likely) than the odds for having any lower level of support. If the proportional odds assumption holds, the proportional odds ratio should be roughly consistent across all levels of the ordinal dependent variable compared to all levels lower than it. Thus, using the same example, for being Bangladeshi American the odds for "Neither Favoring Nor Opposing" protections for gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals are 1.11 times higher (or 11% more likely) than the odds of "Opposing" or "Strongly Opposing". (Institute for Digital

Research and Education, UCLA; Research Data Sciences and Services, University of Virginia Library). If the proportional odds assumption does not hold, the proportional odds ratios will vary across the differences in each level of the ordinal dependent variables. For this study, the Brant test was used to test the proportional odds assumption for each regression, leveraging the Brant test package in R (Brant 1990; Schlegel and Steenbergen 2018).

As noted, above, all dependent variables were re-ordered to have the most liberal response at the highest level of the scale (4, 5, or 7 depending on the number of levels) and the most conservative response at the lowest level of the scale (1). Thus, an odds ratio greater than one would indicate a prediction of a more liberal response given an increase in the independent variable, while an odds ratio less than one would indicate a prediction of a more conservative response given an increase in the independent variable. For the binary ethnicity variables, however, the direction of impact (i.e., being more liberal or more conservative) is less relevant than the statistical significance itself, as all ethnic groups were compared against Chinese as the randomly selected default ethnicity. Chinese ethnicity was then tested separately against all other ethnicity groups. Thus, an ethnicity with a statistically significant relationship with the Party ID variable and an odds ratio less than one, is more conservative than the average response for Chinese Americans but not necessarily more conservative than Asian Americans overall. Tables 1 through 5 below, show the statistical significance between each independent variable and the dependent variables, with this more conservative or more liberal prediction in the farthest right column. Meanwhile, Figures 1 through 6 show the distribution of responses for each ethnicity with regards to the five studied variables, with the statically significant

relationships between specific ethnicities and the variables underlined and highlighted in green.

Tables 1 through 5, below are laid out in a consistent format based on the outcomes of the ordered logistic regression (Tables 6 and 7, meanwhile reflect the outcomes of the binomial regressions). The left most column indicates the proportional odds ratio regarding the impact of an increase in the independent variable on the dependent variable. The second and third columns from the left provide the values for the 2.5% and 97.5% confidence intervals. The fourth column from the left indicates whether the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable is statistically significant based on whether zero falls between the 2.5% and 97.5% confidence intervals (as described above). The right most column displays the direction of the impact as indicated by the odds ratio being greater than one (more liberal) or less than one (more conservative). Again, for non-Chinese ethnic groups, the direction of the impact is only in relation to Chinese American as the default.

A. Party Identification

The Party ID variable was derived from forming an index out of the several survey follow-on questions related to the base question: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or in terms of some other party?" Respondents that identified as a Republican or Democrat were further asked whether they saw themselves as a "Strong Republican"/"Strong Democrat" or as a "Not So Strong Republican"/"Not So Strong Democrat". Respondents that identified as an Independent or as some other third party were further asked if their views were "Closer to the Republican Party", "Closer to the Democratic Party", or "Closer to Neither Party".

This was used to create a seven-level dependent variable ranging from "Strong Republican" to "Strong Democrat". Table 1, below, shows the results of the ordered logistic regression for the Party ID variable in terms of the key independent variables.

Table 1: Sample Regression for Party ID Variable[10]

Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	2.5% CI	97.5% CI	Statistically Significant?	Direction of Impact
Bangladeshi	2.685	0.689	1.288	Yes	Liberal*
Cambodian	0.796	-0.515	0.058	No	N/A
Chinese	0.725	-0.508	-0.135	Yes	Conservative**
Filipino	1.300	0.010	0.514	Yes	Liberal*
Hmong	1.268	-0.055	0.530	No	N/A
Indian	2.173	0.510	1.042	Yes	Liberal*
Japanese	1.597	0.200	0.736	Yes	Liberal*
Korean	1.200	-0.061	0.426	No	N/A
Pakistani	2.215	0.507	1.084	Yes	Liberal*
Vietnamese	0.580	-0.791	-0.300	Yes	Conservative*
Age	0.994	-0.009	-0.002	Yes	Conservative
Foreign Birth	0.635	-0.616	-0.291	Yes	Conservative
Income 2	0.980	-0.206	0.167	No	N/A
Income 3	0.824	-0.411	0.023	No	N/A
Income 4	0.803	-0.461	0.021	No	N/A
Income 5	0.749	-0.553	-0.024	Yes	Conservative
Income 6	0.695	-0.617	-0.110	Yes	Conservative
Income 7	0.586	-0.849	-0.219	Yes	Conservative
Education 2	0.938	-0.361	0.234	No	N/A
Education 3	0.926	-0.369	0.215	No	N/A
Education 4	0.973	-0.341	0.285	No	N/A
Education 5	1.115	-0.187	0.404	No	N/A
Education 6	1.126	-0.202	0.440	No	N/A

For the ten ethnicity groups, seven have statistically significant relationships with Party ID when taking into account age, foreign birth, income, and education. The null hypothesis may be rejected for these seven ethnicity groups, at least with regards to the survey sample population. Interestingly, there does not appear to be consistent ethnicity

[10] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

significance among communities originally from the same larger region. For example, among Southeast Asian communities, only Vietnamese ethnicity has a statistically significant relationship with Party ID, while Hmong and Cambodian do not have a statistically significant relationship with Party ID.

Age serves as a statistically significant predictor of more conservative party identification as do the higher income levels. This appears to be consistent with existing non-Asian American-centered studies which predict that, overall, older voters and more wealthy voters are more likely to identify with the Republican Party than younger or less wealthy voters (Fullerton and Dixon 2010; Gelman, Kenworthy, and Su 2010). Foreign birth also is a statistically significant predictor of more conservative party identification. The proportional odds assumption appeared to be valid for this model, based on the Brant test.

B. Immigration

The Immigration variable captures respondents' answers to the question "Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: Undocumented or illegal immigrants should be allowed to have an opportunity to eventually become U.S. citizens". Respondents selected from among a 5-level scale from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree". Table 2, below, displays the key statistics for this regression.

Table 2: Sample Regression for Immigration Variable[11]

Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	2.5% CI	97.5% CI	Statistically Significant?	Direction of Impact
Bangladeshi	2.636	0.655	1.286	Yes	Liberal*
Cambodian	1.981	0.390	0.978	Yes	Liberal*
Chinese	0.633	-0.651	-0.262	Yes	Conservative**
Filipino	2.058	0.467	0.978	Yes	Liberal*
Hmong	4.382	1.159	1.800	Yes	Liberal*
Indian	1.362	0.045	0.573	Yes	Liberal*
Japanese	1.570	0.182	0.721	Yes	Liberal*
Korean	0.876	-0.378	0.114	No	N/A
Pakistani	2.433	0.576	1.204	Yes	Liberal*
Vietnamese	0.973	-0.283	0.228	No	N/A
Age	0.987	-0.017	-0.009	Yes	Conservative
Foreign Birth	0.464	-0.936	-0.601	Yes	Conservative
Income 2	0.998	-0.196	0.192	No	N/A
Income 3	1.102	-0.128	0.323	No	N/A
Income 4	1.072	-0.181	0.320	No	N/A
Income 5	1.140	-0.143	0.406	No	N/A
Income 6	0.958	-0.300	0.214	No	N/A
Income 7	0.898	-0.426	0.212	No	N/A
Education 2	0.653	-0.728	-0.125	Yes	Conservative
Education 3	0.651	-0.730	-0.129	Yes	Conservative
Education 4	0.732	-0.634	0.009	No	N/A
Education 5	0.759	-0.580	0.028	No	N/A
Education 6	0.891	-0.444	0.214	No	N/A

For the ten ethnicity groups, eight have statistically significant relationships with the Immigration variable when taking into account age, foreign birth, income, and education. It is critical to note that Cambodian and Hmong ethnicities, which did not have statistically significant relationships with the Party ID variable, do have statistically significant relationships with the Immigration variable. The reverse is true for Vietnamese American respondents. While addressed further below, this is indicative of the variance in statistical significance for the same ethnicity across the multiple prisms of

[11] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

partisan political views addressed in this study. As with Party ID, being older and being foreign born are statistically significant predictors of more conservative views on the Immigration variable, with the latter having a relatively large impact as indicated by the odds ratio of 0.464. Income appears to have no statistically significant relationship with the Immigration variable, unlike with Party ID. The lower education levels "Some Schooling/No High School Degree" and "High School Degree/GED" appear to be statistically significant predictors of more conservative responses for the Immigration variable, though there does not seem to be a statistically significant liberalizing relationship at the higher levels of education. This may indicate either that lower levels of education effectively proxy a key factor that dissipates at higher education levels, or that there is a key interactive relationship between higher education levels and some other variables that dissipates the impact of education increase alone. The proportional odds assumption appeared to be valid for this model, based on the Brant test.

C. Abortion

The abortion variable captures respondents' answer to the question "What comes closest to your views on abortion?" Respondents could select one of four answers: "Abortion should be illegal in all cases"; "Abortion should be legal only in cases of rape, incest, and to protect the life of the mother"; "Abortion should be legal most of the time"; or "Abortion should always be legal". Table 3, below, displays the key statistics for this regression.

Table 3: Sample Regression for Abortion Variable[12]

Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	2.5% CI	97.5% CI	Statistically Significant?	Direction of Impact
Bangladeshi	0.911	-0.566	0.382	No	N/A
Cambodian	0.156	-2.338	-1.381	Yes	Conservative*
Chinese	2.087	0.425	1.050	Yes	Liberal**
Filipino	0.310	-1.561	-0.781	Yes	Conservative*
Hmong	0.404	-1.373	-0.444	Yes	Conservative*
Indian	0.848	-0.558	0.227	No	N/A
Japanese	1.076	-0.336	0.482	No	N/A
Korean	0.557	-0.961	-0.211	Yes	Conservative*
Pakistani	0.572	-1.009	-0.110	Yes	Conservative*
Vietnamese	0.241	-1.814	-1.030	Yes	Conservative*
Age	0.985	-0.020	-0.009	Yes	Conservative
Foreign Birth	0.492	-0.949	-0.469	Yes	Conservative
Income 2	1.047	-0.246	0.337	No	N/A
Income 3	1.257	-0.095	0.552	No	N/A
Income 4	1.463	0.029	0.732	Yes	Liberal
Income 5	1.273	-0.158	0.641	No	N/A
Income 6	1.682	0.153	0.888	Yes	Liberal
Income 7	1.575	0.016	0.895	Yes	Liberal
Education 2	1.228	-0.298	0.712	No	N/A
Education 3	2.110	0.267	1.233	Yes	Liberal
Education 4	3.140	0.640	1.655	Yes	Liberal
Education 5	3.056	0.640	1.602	Yes	Liberal
Education 6	3.620	0.771	1.809	Yes	Liberal

For the ten ethnicity groups, seven have statistically significant relationships with the Abortion variable when taking into account age, foreign birth, income, and education. Of note, views on Abortion are one of only two of the dependent variables where identifying as Korean American was statistically significant among respondents (the other variable being views towards gay, lesbian, and transgender protections). Age and foreign birth continued to be statistically significant predictors of more conservative responses. However, the higher income brackets and nearly all of the education brackets

[12] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

were statistically significant predictors of more liberal responses. Thus, for the sample population, increased incomes and increased educational attainment appeared to have a large impact on liberal views towards abortion. For the higher education levels, the odds of having a more liberal response were three times more likely than having a more conservative response. The proportional odds assumption continued to appear valid for this model, based on the Brant test.

D. LGBTQ

The LGBTQ variable captures respondents' answers to the question "Do you favor or oppose legal protections against discrimination against gay, lesbian and transgender people?" Respondents could select from among a 5-level scale from "Strongly Oppose" to "Strongly Favor". Though this variable is used in this study as a proxy for support for protections towards the broader LGBTQ community, it is critical to note that bisexual and queer individuals were not explicitly listed in the question wording. Table 4, below, displays the key statistics for this regression.

Table 4: Sample Regression for LGBTQ Variable[13]

Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	2.5% CI	97.5% CI	Statistically Significant?	Direction of Impact
Bangladeshi	1.115	-0.367	0.588	No	N/A
Cambodian	0.951	-0.473	0.374	No	N/A
Chinese	0.979	-0.317	0.277	No	N/A
Filipino	1.293	-0.122	0.637	No	N/A
Hmong	0.467	-1.204	-0.317	Yes	Conservative*
Indian	1.673	0.116	0.913	Yes	Liberal*
Japanese	1.144	-0.265	0.534	No	N/A
Korean	0.422	-1.244	-0.485	Yes	Conservative*
Pakistani	1.116	-0.338	0.559	No	N/A
Vietnamese	1.439	-0.016	0.745	No	N/A
Age	0.976	-0.029	-0.019	Yes	Conservative
Foreign Birth	0.443	-1.060	-0.569	Yes	Conservative
Income 2	1.125	-0.162	0.396	No	N/A
Income 3	1.171	-0.162	0.476	No	N/A
Income 4	1.018	-0.333	0.369	No	N/A
Income 5	1.173	-0.245	0.565	No	N/A
Income 6	1.440	-0.014	0.745	No	N/A
Income 7	1.366	-0.137	0.766	No	N/A
Education 2	1.170	-0.256	0.570	No	N/A
Education 3	1.085	-0.335	0.499	No	N/A
Education 4	1.715	0.093	0.987	Yes	Liberal
Education 5	1.672	0.093	0.936	Yes	Liberal
Education 6	2.434	0.425	1.357	Yes	Liberal

For the ten ethnicity groups, only three have statistically significant relationships with the LGBTQ variable when taking into account age, foreign birth, income, and education. This is the fewest number of statistically significant ethnic groups for any of the five partisan political view dependent variables studied. As noted above, this is one of only two dependent variables for which being Korean American was statistically significant for the sample respondents. This relatively low number of statistically significant groups may be due to the important impact of other variables not included

[13] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

here, such as respondents' sexual identity or religious views, which would cut across ethnic communities. As with the three preceding dependent variables, age and foreign birth continue to be statistically significant predictors of more conservative responses at nearly the same odds ratio as with the Party ID, Immigration, and Abortion variables. Similar to the Abortion variable, higher levels of educational attainment appear to be statistically significant predictors of more liberal responses for the LGBTQ variable, though the magnitude of impact for educational attainment is less than in the former dependent variable. The proportional odds assumption appeared to be valid for this model, based on the Brant test.

E. Health Care

The Health Care variable captures respondents' answers to the question "And thinking about quality of health care, has the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare increased, decreased, or had no effect on the quality of health care for you and your family?" Respondents could select between "Decreased", "No Effect", or "Increased". Use of this question for this study is meant to proxy respondents' views towards the Affordable Care Act by addressing their perceptions of its impact on their personal health care quality. However, this is certainly not a perfect proxy, as individuals views may be significantly impacted by the unique state of their or their families' health absent any impact by the Affordable Care Act. Additionally, respondents could approve of the Affordable Care Act (for example, approving of its contributions towards the health of less wealthy individuals) while not believing it has affected their own personal health care quality. Table 5, below, displays the key statistics for this regression. The proportional odds assumption appeared to be valid for this model, based on the Brant test.

Table 5: Sample Regression for Health Care Variable[14]

Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	2.5% CI	97.5% CI	Statistically Significant?	Direction of Impact
Bangladeshi	2.057	0.091	1.35E+00	Yes	Liberal*
Cambodian	1.727	-0.035	1.13E+00	No	N/A
Chinese	0.593	-0.917	-0.1308821	Yes	Conservative**
Filipino	1.542	-0.074	9.40E-01	No	N/A
Hmong	1.218	-0.435	8.27E-01	No	N/A
Indian	2.025	0.169	1.24E+00	Yes	Liberal*
Japanese	1.321	-0.253	8.10E-01	No	N/A
Korean	1.419	-0.140	8.41E-01	No	N/A
Pakistani	3.486	0.661	1.84E+00	Yes	Liberal*
Vietnamese	1.759	0.071	1.06E+00	Yes	Liberal*
Age	0.994	-0.013	9.94E-04	No	N/A
Foreign Birth	0.728	-0.641	4.91E-03	No	N/A
Income 2	1.133	-0.247	4.97E-01	No	N/A
Income 3	0.841	-0.610	2.63E-01	No	N/A
Income 4	0.810	-0.674	2.52E-01	No	N/A
Income 5	0.704	-0.868	1.63E-01	No	N/A
Income 6	0.598	-1.032	3.52E-05	No	N/A
Income 7	0.506	-1.290	-7.58E-02	Yes	Conservative
Education 2	1.030	-0.594	6.54E-01	No	N/A
Education 3	1.211	-0.430	8.14E-01	No	N/A
Education 4	1.030	-0.625	6.85E-01	No	N/A
Education 5	1.268	-0.390	8.67E-01	No	N/A
Education 6	1.083	-0.595	7.56E-01	No	N/A

For the ten ethnicity groups, five have statistically significant relationships with the Health Care variable when taking into account age, foreign birth, income, and education. Unlike for all other partisan political variables studied, age and foreign birth had no statistically significant relationship with responses to the Health Care variable. This was surprising given the general correlation between older age and health problems for many groups. However, given the nature of the question, this may have served to split respondents among older individuals with health problems, as some may have viewed the

[14] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

Affordable Care Act as unlocking greater health care quality while others disagreed. Only the highest level of income appeared to have a statistically significant relationship in responding that health care quality had decreased alongside the Affordable Care Act. This may be due to concerns about higher premiums among those with already high access to health care, or could be an interaction effect with some other variable not analyzed in this regression such as Party ID (e.g., wealthy individuals being more likely to be Republican and thereby, more likely to have lower opinions of the Affordable Care Act).

F. Testing Existing Theories

The second set of key questions analyzed were designed to test the explanatory power of existing theories, particularly whether foreign-born immigrants are less likely to vote and whether the experience and type of discrimination increases the likelihood of political participation, as argued for by the Minority Group Hypothesis. The primary dependent variables analyzed here was whether or not respondent voted in the 2016 presidential election and, if so, whether they voted for the Democratic Party candidate, Senator Hilary Clinton[15]. In the survey, these questions were only asked of individuals who already identified themselves as having been registered to vote. As such, these questions do not take into account individuals who could not or did not register to vote prior to the 2016 elections. Both of these variables were binaries, and therefore could be analyzed via more traditional binomial regressions.

Several independent variables were studied in these regressions. These included the Microaggression Discrimination Index and the Major Discrimination Index

[15] For ease of reference, these variables are referred to as the "Vote 2016" and "Vote Clinton" variables, respectively.

(described in the "Data Preparation" section above), whether the respondent was born outside of the United States, as well as variables entitled "Ethnicity Feeling" and "Asian American Feeling". The Ethnicity Feeling variable captures respondents' answer to the question: "Do you think what happens generally to other [insert ethnicity] Americans affects what happens in your life? Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?" The Asian American Feeling variable captures respondents' answers to the question: "Do you think what happens generally to other Asian Americans in this country affects what happens in your life? Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?" Both of these questions were used as proxies to test the interactive causal logic presented in the Minority Group Hypothesis. Along with other elements, this existing theory posits that experience of discrimination based on one's ethnicity or race encourages greater political participation as well as greater sense of affinity with other co-ethnic or co-racial individuals, which in turn further promotes political participation across the group.

Table 6, below, displays the critical statistics for the regression related to the Vote 2016 variable. The left most column provides the estimated coefficient for the impact of the independent variable on Vote 2016. The column second from the left provides the standard error. The column third from the left provides the z-value. The column fourth from the left provides the p-value, marked with "*", "**", or "***" for values that are statistically significant at the 95%, 99%, and 99.9% confidence intervals, respectively. For those relationships that are statistically significant, the right most column indicates whether the direction of impact on the dependent variable per an increase in the independent variable is positive or negative. Unlike the other regressions in this study, for the Vote 2016 variable the positive or negative direction impacts have no connection to

more liberal or more conservative responses but rather indicate a higher or lower likelihood of voting at all, for any candidate.

Table 6: Sample Regression for Vote 2016 Variable[16]

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	Z-Value	P-Value	Direction of Impact
Microaggression Index 1	0.781	0.127	6.169	6.87e-10 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 2	1.071	0.135	7.96	1.73e-15 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 3	0.780	0.163	4.796	1.62e-06 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 4	0.865	0.203	4.26	2.04e-05 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 5	0.940	0.254	3.696	0.000219 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 6	0.829	0.295	2.811	0.004943 **	Positive
Microaggression Index 7	0.672	0.347	1.936	0.052911	N/A
Microaggression Index 8	1.415	0.629	2.25	0.024427 *	Positive
Microaggression Index 9	0.809	0.521	1.554	0.120284	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 1	0.185	0.129	1.443	0.148976	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 2	0.623	0.196	3.184	0.001452 **	Positive
Major Discrimination Index 3	-0.093	0.218	-0.426	0.670173	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 4	0.169	0.348	0.487	0.626042	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 5	0.026	0.503	0.051	0.959105	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 6	0.817	0.781	1.046	0.295753	N/A
Foreign Birth	-0.371	0.106	-3.504	0.000459 ***	Negative
Ethnicity Feeling 2	0.133	0.222	0.598	0.549698	N/A
Ethnicity Feeling 3	0.147	0.139	1.052	0.292573	N/A
Ethnicity Feeling 4	0.019	0.159	0.118	0.905756	N/A
Asian American Feeling 2	0.200	0.204	0.982	0.325859	N/A
Asian American Feeling 3	-0.026	0.137	-0.188	0.850671	N/A
Asian American Feeling 4	0.156	0.171	0.916	0.359812	N/A

The regression reveals that almost every increase in the average number of microaggression experienced per month increased the likelihood of the respondent voting in 2016. This effect only dissipated at the highest level of experience, which seems to indicate that after a critical mass of experience of microaggression encouraging respondents to vote, the effect of experiencing any additional microaggression types is minimal. For microaggression experience, then, it appears the null hypothesis can be

[16] *=statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval; **=statistically significant at the 99% confidence interval; ***=statistically significant at the 99.9% confidence interval

rejected with regards to the sample population. This would seem to support the validity of the Minority Group Hypothesis theory, at least for the overall Asian American sample population. When the Microaggression Discrimination Index was additionally tested in interaction with each ethnicity group for the Vote 2016 variable, the Microaggression Discrimination Index was not statistically significant within the individual ethnicity groups. This may be due to the experience of microaggressions being so closely related to each specific ethnicity group (i.e., Chinese Americans may experience a consistent number of microaggressions that may be different from a consistent number of microaggressions experienced by Vietnamese Americans), so that the effect of microaggression is completely absorbed by the ethnicity variable. Alternatively, this may be predominantly due to the sample size in which, within each ethnicity group, there are a relatively small number of individuals at each Microaggression Discrimination Index level. This number may be too small to be able to affirm statistical significance, even if a statistically significant relationship could be identified if there was a larger sample size for each ethnicity group.

The Major Discrimination Index appeared to have no statistically significant effect on the Vote 2016 variable except at a single level in the Index. This may be due to several factors. Respondents may not perceive the experience of these events as closely aligned with group-based discrimination, though the surveyors and this study attempt to portray them as such. For example, respondents may view answering questions such as "Have you ever unfairly been denied a promotion?" or "Have you ever moved into a neighborhood where neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?" as predominantly related to their unique family situation, rather than being connected to

discrimination based on the individual's ethnicity or race. In this case, some of the causal logic affiliated with the Minority Group Hypothesis would not be present for the questions captured in the Major Discrimination Index. It is also possible that more consistent, regular experience of discriminatory microaggressions (the questions in the Microaggression Discriminatory Index capture the respondents reporting of the number of types of microaggressions over the average month) is more important in contributing to voting than the experience of major discrimination over the respondents overall course of life.

Foreign birth appears to have a large, statistically significant impact on decreasing the likelihood of voting in 2016. This would indicate that the null hypothesis can be rejected for the sample population. This would appear to further validate the findings from the Stoll and Wong (2007) and Diaz (2012) studies, and contradict the opposing findings presented by Pei-te Lien (2004). This study, however, does not dive-in to the experience of individual voting restrictions and barriers that are addressed in those other studies.

Neither Ethnicity Feeling nor Asian American Feeling had statistically significant relationships with the Vote 2016 variable. This could be due to the effects of these independent variables being absorbed into the Discrimination Indexes, which in turn contribute to Vote 2016 values. Alternatively, feelings of greater similarity or group affinity with co-ethnic or co-racial individuals may, in fact, have minimal impact on the likelihood of voting in 2016. These feelings could have impact on other forms of political participation such as group-joining or political contributions that are taken into account by the Minority Group Hypothesis, but are not addressed in this study. The Ethnicity

Feeling and Asian American Feeling variables do, however, have a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of voting for Clinton in 2016, as discussed below.

Table 7, below, displays the critical statistics related to the Vote Clinton variable. This variable indicates whether respondents who voted in the 2016 presidential election voted for Clinton rather than for Donald Trump or any other third party presidential candidate. This variable excludes those who did not vote in the 2016 election.

Table 7: Sample Regression for Vote Clinton Variable[17]

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	Z-Value	P-Value	Direction of Impact
Microaggression Index 1	0.496	0.109	4.549	5.39e-06 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 2	0.570	0.110	5.189	2.12e-07 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 3	0.629	0.132	4.779	1.76e-06 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 4	0.400	0.154	2.599	0.009353 **	Positive
Microaggression Index 5	0.603	0.183	3.301	0.000964 ***	Positive
Microaggression Index 6	0.432	0.217	1.988	0.046809 *	Positive
Microaggression Index 7	0.741	0.265	2.793	0.005218 **	Positive
Microaggression Index 8	0.766	0.379	2.022	0.043153 *	Positive
Microaggression Index 9	0.765	0.381	2.007	0.044754 *	Positive
Major Discrimination Index 1	0.137	0.092	1.483	0.138054	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 2	0.232	0.122	1.901	0.05732	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 3	-0.099	0.166	-0.596	0.550934	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 4	-0.391	0.252	-1.551	0.120816	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 5	-0.652	0.368	-1.771	0.076562	N/A
Major Discrimination Index 6	0.366	0.489	0.748	0.454578	N/A
Foreign Birth	-0.495	0.076	-6.514	7.31e-11 ***	Negative
Ethnicity Feeling 2	0.149	0.158	0.938	0.348139	N/A
Ethnicity Feeling 3	0.377	0.104	3.622	0.000293 ***	Positive
Ethnicity Feeling 4	0.507	0.119	4.273	1.93e-05 ***	Positive
Asian American Feeling 2	0.364	0.144	2.529	0.011425 *	Positive
Asian American Feeling 3	0.220	0.103	2.142	0.032155 *	Positive
Asian American Feeling 4	0.278	0.126	2.21	0.027131 *	Positive

As with the Vote 2016 variable, experience of microaggression was a statistically significant predictor of voting for Clinton over any other presidential candidate. The

[17] *=statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval; **=statistically significant at the 99% confidence interval; ***=statistically significant at the 99.9% confidence interval

impact of the Microaggression Discrimination Index was particularly high at the highest reporting levels of average experience of microaggressions types. This may have been due to the salience of the political discussion related to racism and other forms of discrimination during the 2016 presidential campaign. Thereby, this could have encouraged voters who experienced discrimination to vote for the candidate with the more expansive anti-racial-discrimination platform, as evidenced by the parties' respective 2016 platforms (Democratic National Committee 2016; Republican National Committee 2016). The Major Discrimination Index continued to not be statistically significant for the Vote Clinton variable, potentially due to the same reasons addressed above with regards to the Vote 2016 variable.

Foreign birth had a large, statistically significant relationship in predicting a vote for a candidate other than Clinton. This appears to be consistent with the findings in the Party ID regression, which predicted that foreign born respondents were more likely to have conservative party identification than those born in the United States. This also appears to reflect the conservatizing impact of foreign birth on the Immigration, Abortion, and LGBTQ variables, particularly since the Clinton campaign adopted the more liberal position for each of those issue sets (Democratic National Committee 2016).

The higher levels of Ethnicity Feeling and all levels of Asian American Feeling appeared to have statistically significant relationships in predicting voting for Clinton over other candidates. This may be due to perceptions that a potential Clinton presidency would do more to address issues of interest to Asian Americans and to individual Asian American ethnic communities than other candidates'. This finding may support the theory set forth by Wendy Cho and Bruce Cain (2001), which argues that Asian

Americans are generally drawn to the Democratic Party due to recognition and experience of historical and current group-based discrimination. Among the sample population, it appears that this study's findings do not support Maurice Mangum's findings that those who identify closely with Asian American heritage (and, thereby, could be expected to have higher values for the Ethnicity Feeling or Asian American Feeling variables) are more likely to vote Republican (2013). Rather, for the sample population, it appears that the opposite is true.

V. Key Findings

It is necessary to view these individual findings in the context of both the overall study of the sample population as well as the relative distribution of conservative-to-liberal responses for each ethnic community. Table 8, below, re-prints the statistical significance for each of the major independent variables across the five main partisan political variables: Party ID; Immigration; Abortion; LGBTQ; and Health Care.

Table 8: Summary of Statistical Significance Results Across Five Regressions[18]

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable				
	Party ID	Immigration	Abortion	LGBTQ	Health Care
Bangladeshi	Liberal*	Liberal*	N/A	N/A	Liberal*
Cambodian	N/A	Liberal*	Conservative*	N/A	N/A
Chinese	Conservative**	Conservative**	Liberal**	N/A	Conservative**
Filipino	Liberal*	Liberal*	Conservative*	N/A	N/A
Hmong	N/A	Liberal*	Conservative*	Conservative*	N/A
Indian	Liberal*	Liberal*	N/A	Liberal*	Liberal*
Japanese	Liberal*	Liberal*	N/A	N/A	N/A
Korean	N/A	N/A	Conservative*	Conservative*	N/A
Pakistani	Liberal*	Liberal*	Conservative*	N/A	Liberal*
Vietnamese	Conservative*	N/A	Conservative*	N/A	Liberal*
Age	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative*	N/A
Foreign Birth	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative*	N/A
Income 2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Income 3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Income 4	N/A	N/A	Liberal	N/A	N/A
Income 5	Conservative	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Income 6	Conservative	N/A	Liberal	N/A	N/A
Income 7	Conservative	N/A	Liberal	N/A	Conservative**
Education 2	N/A	Conservative	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education 3	N/A	Conservative	Liberal	N/A	N/A
Education 4	N/A	N/A	Liberal	Liberal	N/A
Education 5	N/A	N/A	Liberal	Liberal	N/A
Education 6	N/A	N/A	Liberal	Liberal	N/A

As noted above, for the ethnic groups that have statistically significant relationships with the dependent variable, the liberal or conservative direction of the impact is only in relation to the default Chinese American ethnicity. It is, thus, critical to examine the important variations in political responses across the ethnicity groups within each dependent variable. Figures 1 through 5 provide the distribution of responses for each of the primary partisan political variables. For ease of interpretation, responses have been colored from most conservative (red) to most liberal (blue) with gradations in between and yellow for the neutral-equivalent answer, if possible. The ethnicities that were identified as having statistically significant relationship with the given dependent

[18] *=Compared to Chinese Americans; **=Compared to all other ethnic groups

variables are presented in bold, underlined, green font. Figure 6 presents the findings from the perspective of each ethnic community, with regards to the views presented across the five partisan political variables.

Figure 1: Distribution of Responses to Party ID Variable

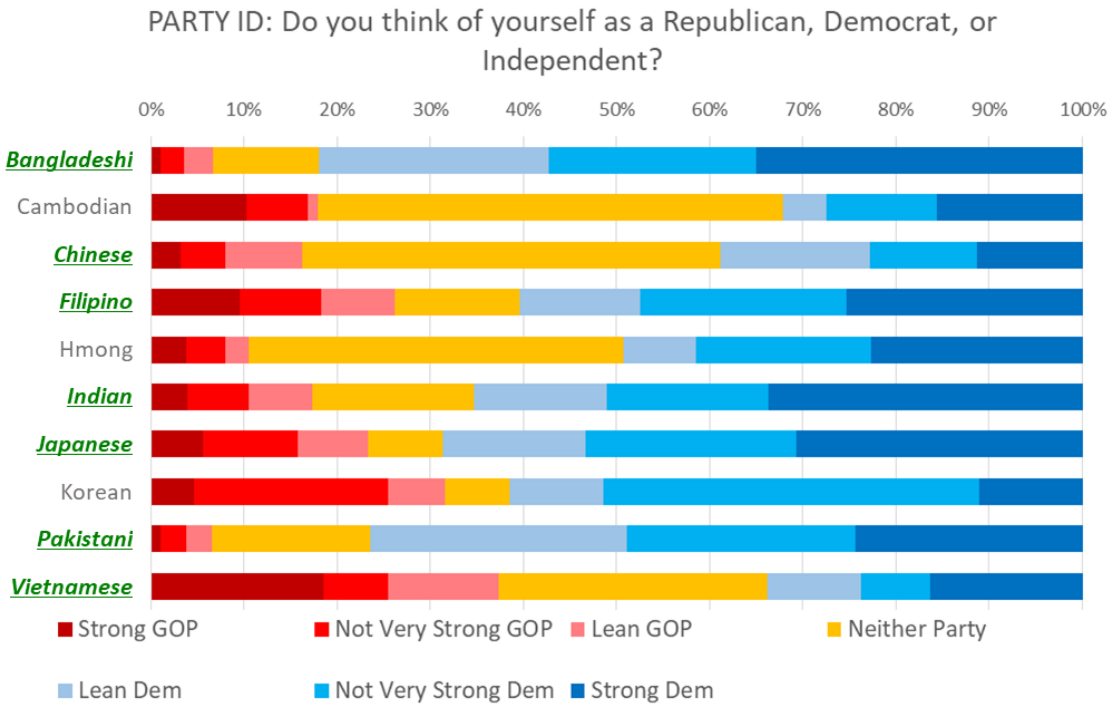


Figure 2: Distribution of Responses to Immigration Variable

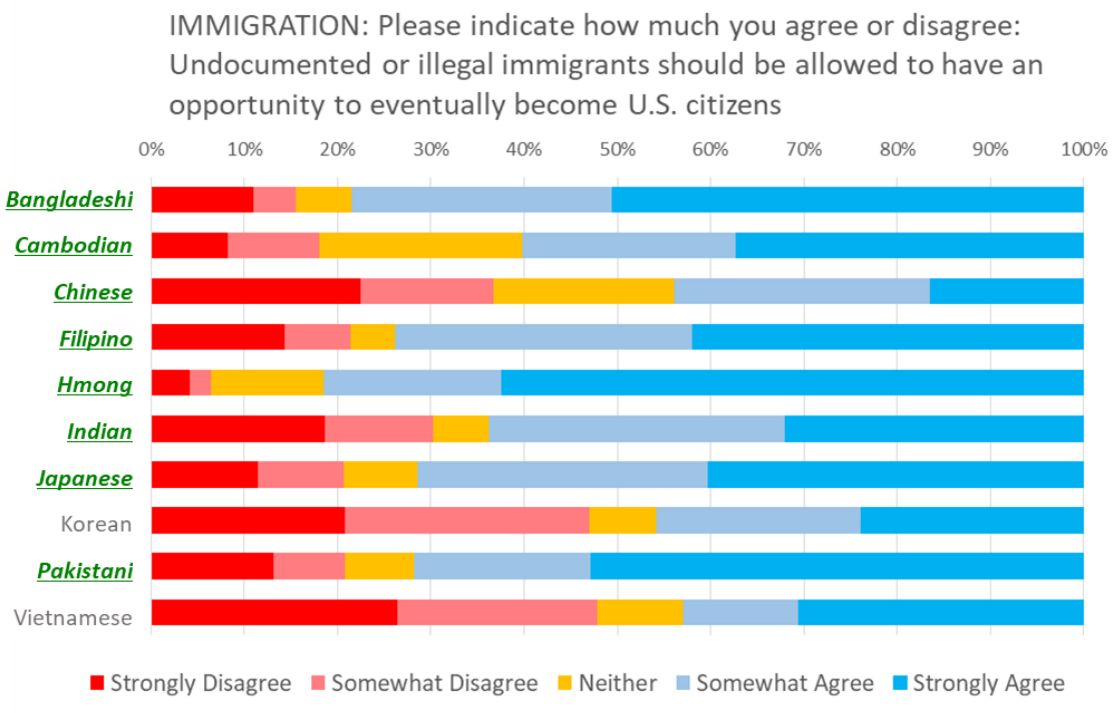


Figure 3: Distribution of Responses to Abortion Variable

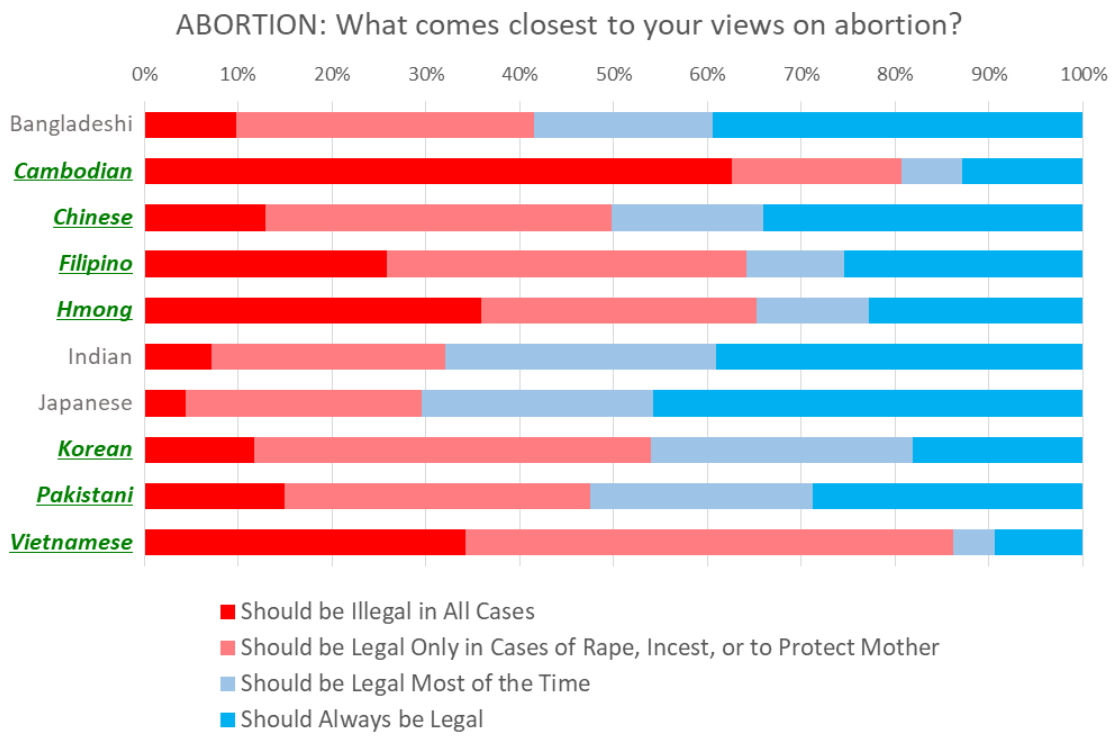


Figure 4: Distribution of Responses to LGBTQ Variable

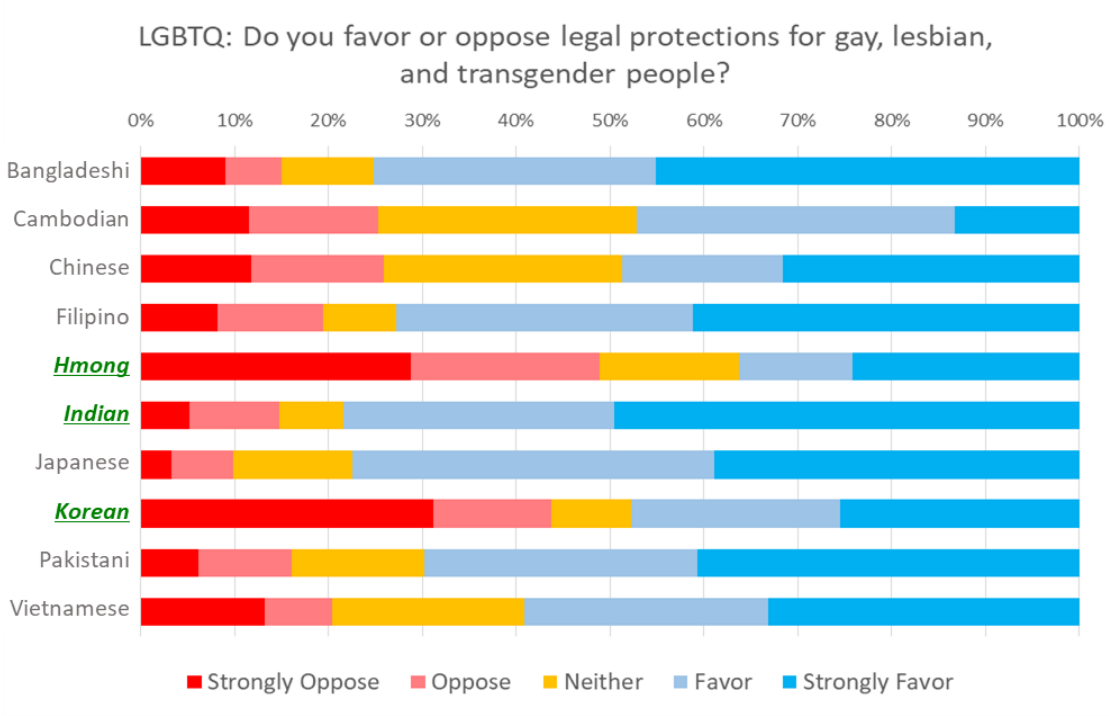


Figure 5: Distribution of Responses to Health Care Variable

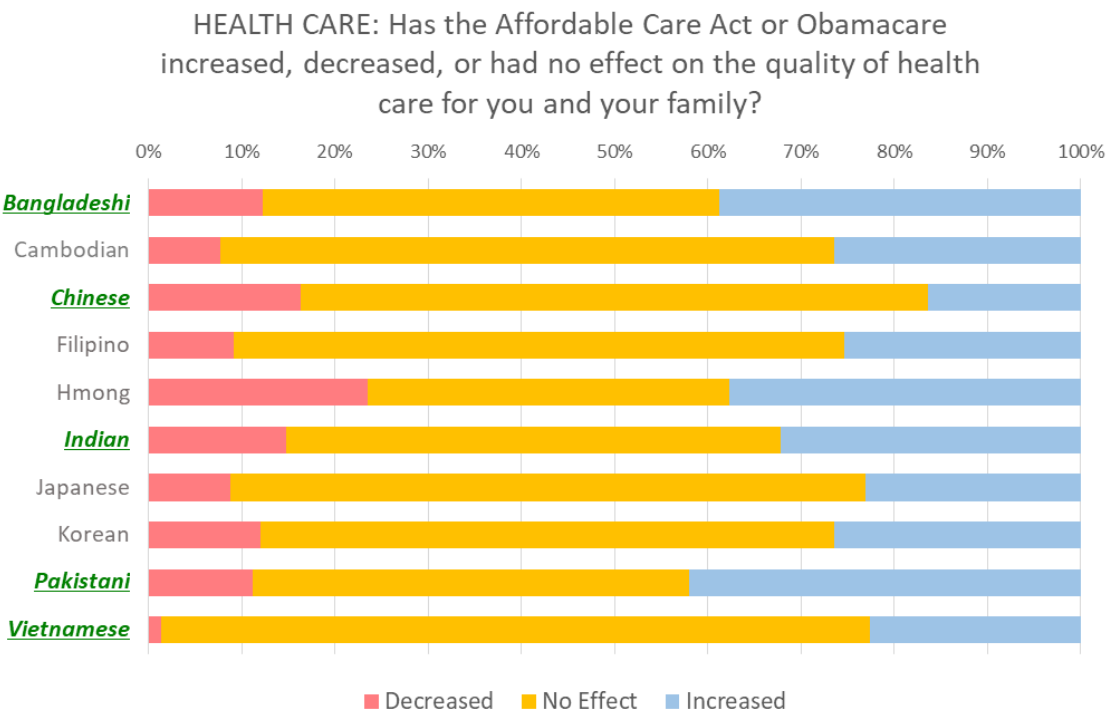
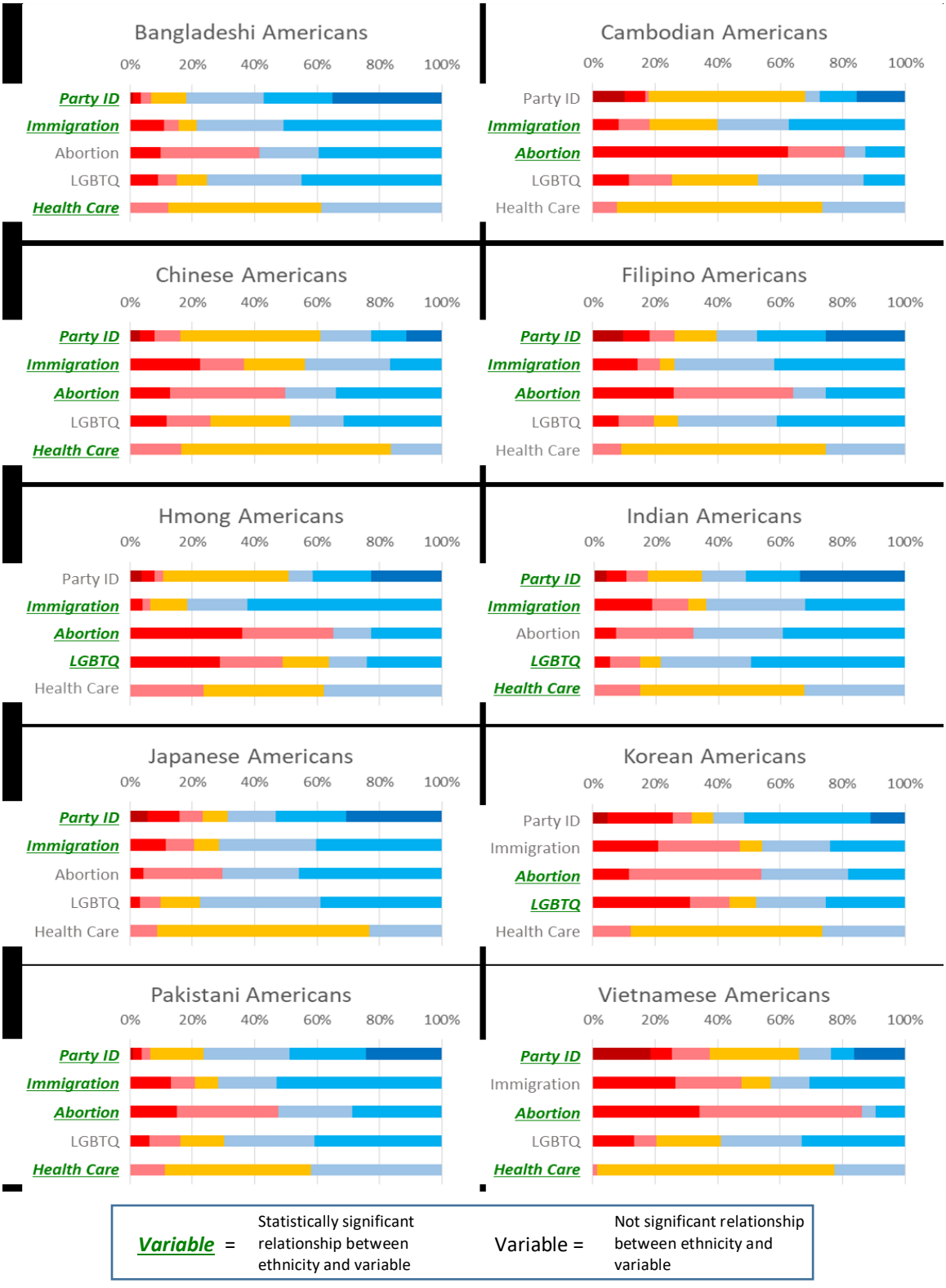


Figure 6: Distribution of Responses in Each Ethnic Community[19]



[19] The coloration of each bar is derived from the variable's specific response options, and is ordered along a continuum from conservative (red), to neutral/independent (yellow), to liberal (blue) responses

This contextual framing reveals several interesting findings for further exploration. These key findings are: (1) that ethnicity was significant for respondents in each ethnic group in impacting two or more of the partisan political variables; (2) that within each ethnic group, a diversity of political views were represented that did not completely align with respondent's stated political party identification; (3) the lack of statistical significance between some ethnicities and some partisan political variables that could be pre-theoretically expected or that is pre-supposed in popular political literature; (4) that there existed a wide variety of views among the respondent population by ethnic group, though not all relationships were statistically significant for each ethnic group; (5) that being born outside of the United States and being older were consistent predictors of more conservative responses for four out of the five partisan political variables; and (6) that findings related to ethnicity significance may indicate a more complex interaction of factors within the broader scope of the Minority Group Hypothesis.

The first finding is that, among the sample population, identification with a specific ethnicity group had a statistically significant impact on different facets of partisan political views for each ethnic community. No ethnic community showed significance across all five partisan political variables, nor did any ethnic community show no statistical significance across all five variables. Yet, within each respondent ethnic group, ethnicity had a statistically significant relationship with at least two out of the five partisan political variables, and as many as four out of the five variables for Chinese American, Indian American, and Pakistani American respondents. This would seem to indicate that, within each ethnic community, there are a unique set of socio-political factors which contribute to how community members approach the multi-faceted

political issue landscape. No two ethnicity communities studied showed the same statistically significant impact on the same set of variables. This indicates the broad diversity in political issue interaction within and among Asian American ethnic communities, which may often be overlooked or ignored when communities are analyzed at the aggregated Asian American racial level. One caveat, it is possible that, given the average older age of Survey respondents compared to the average Asian American population, that respondents were more likely to be interested or engaged in ethnic heritage and traditions than younger respondents would have been. While this is speculation, it is worth additional larger sample size studies to confirm how the salience of ethnicity changes across a broader diversity of age groups.

A second key finding is that, within the ethnic communities of the sample population, individuals rarely hold 'party-line' conservative or 'party-line' liberal views. For some ethnic groups, party identification did align roughly with selection of other issue views (i.e., the percentage of "Strong Republican" to "Lean Republican" respondent roughly equaling the respondents who gave more conservative issue view responses). However, in general, there was significant variance between the party with which respondents identified and their selected issue view. This may represent the unique selection of issue views based on unique individual or group characteristics, the inability of the Republican Party or Democratic Party to inculcate unity of views among supporters, and/or the tension between individuals in having to identify with one political party while having a complex set of views not represented by the national party committees. As such, within a given ethnic community a majority of respondents could pick traditionally liberal responses for one variable while also selecting traditionally

conservative responses for another variable. Filipino American respondents, for example, showed high frequency of liberal responses for the Party ID, Immigration, and LGBTQ variables, but very high frequency of conservative responses for the Abortion variable. This may be influenced by the Catholic heritage and beliefs among many Filipino Americans. This trend in more conservative responses for the Abortion variable compared to the Party ID, Immigration, and LGBTQ variables was similarly present in several communities that represent diverse religious traditions including Bangladeshi American, Cambodian American, Chinese American, Hmong American, Pakistani American, and Vietnamese American. The significant variance for the Abortion variable, particularly, may be derived from the unique interplay of gender relations, religious traditions, and social mores within each ethnic community.

A third interesting finding was the lack of statistical significance between ethnicity and variables for which it was pre-theoretically expected. For example, there was no statistically significant relationships between either Bangladeshi American or Pakistani American communities and the LGBTQ variable, despite homosexuality being criminalized in both Bangladesh and Pakistan (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner). It could be pre-theoretically expected either that traditional religious and social views of those countries would lead to more conservative responses to the support for LGBTQ protections in the United States. Alternatively, it could be expected that immigrants from those countries may have intentionally immigrated in order to gain additional rights and protections, regardless of sexual identity. It is possible, instead, that both of these pre-theoretical notions are partly true, and that the simultaneous presence of more conservative and more liberal sub-communities within the

Bangladeshi American and Pakistani American communities cancel out one another's effects, leading to no statistical significance at the overall ethnicity level. Or perhaps neither of these pre-theoretical effects are occurring and there is minimal unique correlation between the ethnicity of either of these communities and individuals' views of LGBTQ protections.

Similarly, it may be pre-theoretically expected that all of the Southeast Asian ethnic communities—Vietnamese American, Hmong American, and Cambodian American—would have statistically significant relationships with the Immigration variable given those communities' shared recent history of refugee flight and immigration to the United States amid warfare in the home countries. However, only the Hmong American and Cambodian American ethnicities had statistically significant relationships with views towards citizenship for undocumented immigrants, while Vietnamese Americans did not. The distribution of responses varied widely between Hmong American and Cambodian Americans, on the one hand, and Vietnamese Americans. While less than 20% of Hmong American and Cambodian American respondents disagreed with providing citizenship to undocumented immigrants, nearly 50% of Vietnamese Americans disagreed. Why did the expected pre-theoretical outcomes hold for Hmong American and Cambodian American respondents but not for Vietnamese American respondents? This could be due to the higher identification with the Republican Party among Vietnamese American respondents than among the other groups. This could also be due to the presence of divergent sub-communities within the Vietnamese American respondent group representing strongly conservative and strongly liberal views with regards to the citizenship issue. A potential causal logic for the emergence of two

such groups could be a split between Vietnamese American community members who feel empathetic kinship with undocumented immigrants fleeing warfare or economic distress and community members that feel undocumented immigrants are undeserving of special treatment outside of the existing immigration system. This may be evidenced by the roughly equal distribution of conservative and liberal responses for the Immigration variable among Vietnamese American respondents. These findings further reveal that the popularly-held theory that Vietnamese Americans are among the most conservative Asian American groups predominantly due to the experience of warfare with leftist groups in the origination country and to Republican Southeast Asian migration policies is much oversimplified (Chideya 2016). If this popular theory were accurate, one would expect that Hmong American and Cambodian American groups would be similarly conservative given all three communities' shared experience in the multi-faceted Indochinese conflicts of the mid- to late-20th century. However, as noted, wide variance exists among both party identification and political views among these groups as represented in the sample population. Overall, this unique interplay of factors and potential sub-communities within the Vietnamese American, Hmong American, and Cambodian American groups is certainly deserving of additional study.

The fourth key finding was that respondents displayed a wide variety of responses across the five partisan political variables by ethnic group, which indicates the likely diversity of political views within the overall Asian American community. For example, in the Party ID variable, the percentage of respondents identifying on the conservative spectrum (from "Strongly Republican" to "Lean Republican") showed a difference of 30.7 percentage points between Bangladeshi Americans (6.7%) and Vietnamese

Americans (37.4%). This extended to individuals that originally identified as Independent and, even when asked which party they lean toward, remained committed in stating that they leaned toward neither party. For example, of the Cambodian American respondents, 55.8% initially identified as Independent and 49.9% (or 89.4% of those Independents) continued to say they lean towards neither party. Meanwhile, of the Japanese American respondents, only 30.9% initially identified as Independent and only 8% (or 25.8% of those Independents) continued to say they lean towards neither party. What causes divergences like these? Perhaps Japanese American respondents, coming from a community that has longer historical roots in the United States since the 1800s and experienced targeted discrimination in the United States during the 1940s, felt more comfortable identifying or leaning towards one of the two major parties. Cambodian American respondents, meanwhile, being based in a community with a higher percentage of foreign born and recently arrived individuals may feel either less comfortable committing to a party or may find their views are less incorporated into the two parties' platforms. As a further complication to extricate meaning, the relationship between Japanese American respondents and Party ID was statistically significant, while the relationship between Cambodian American respondents was not. What causation, then, is at work here? Comparisons like these display the diversity within the Asian American community and are certainly deserving of additional research with larger sample population in order to more broadly test causation relationships.

The largest variance in responses can be seen with regards to the Abortion and LGBTQ variable, both of which may be seen as issues that frequently intersect with individuals' views on gender, sexual identity, social mores, and religious or moral views.

At the farthest difference, 86.2% of Vietnamese American respondents provided the more conservative responses for the Abortion variable ("Should be illegal in all cases" and "Should be legal only in cases of rape, incest, or to protect the life of the mother"), while only 32% of Indian Americans selected these answers. As noted above, respondents from groups such as the Hmong American and Cambodian American communities, which had relatively high liberal responses on the other political variables, had among the most conservative responses on the Abortion variable. Among Korean American respondents, ethnicity only had a statistically significant relationship with the Abortion and LGBTQ variables, though in neither case were Korean American respondents considerably more conservative than other groups. Furthermore, as noted above, the LGBTQ variable had the fewest number of ethnic groups with which it had a statistically significant relationship. Education was a statistically significant predictor of more liberal responses for both the Abortion and LGBTQ variables, while income was a statistically significantly predictor of more liberal responses for the LGBTQ variable. Beyond these, however, there seems likely to be additional factors that significantly influence respondents views on these issues that are not captured in this study, and are worthy of further analysis.

The fifth finding was that, despite the variances in direction and statistical significance among the several factors and dependent variables as described above, age and foreign birth were consistent predictors of more conservative responses across four of the five partisan political variables: Party ID; Immigration; Abortion; and LGBTQ.[20] This would seem to indicate that, on the whole, Asian American respondents that were

[20] Neither factors were statistically significant for the Health Care variable but, as described above, this may be more likely due to the ineffectiveness of the question to really capture respondents' views towards the Affordable Care Act than an actual insight on the relevance of age and foreign birth to those views.

older and/or were born outside of the United States adopt or retain more traditionally conservative views than younger or United States-born individuals. This may be due to older individuals increasingly adhering to traditional values or policies and rejecting more progressive policies, as identified among other non-Asian American individuals (Cornelis et al. 2009) or may be due more to generational cohort effects (Fullerton and Dixon 2010). The role of foreign birth in having a statistically significant conservatizing impact is harder to explain. It is possible that foreign born individuals may be likely to support traditionally conservative policies that are similar to those policies from home countries. Alternatively, foreign born individuals may be more religiously conservative and, thereby, their political views may feel more similar to the policies promoted by Evangelical Christian coalitions within the Republican Party. Foreign born individuals, particularly those from countries with a recent history of U.S. military involvement in counter-Communist operations (such as China, Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, and Cambodia), may include a significant number of strongly anti-Communist individuals who are traditionally attracted to the more vocal military funding policies of the Republican Party, as is the case among older and overseas-born Cuban Americans (Girard, Grenier, and Gladwin 2012). Since there are minimal existing studies on the political conservatism of foreign born Asian Americans, these and other potential explanatory theories should certainly be further explored via more targeted data survey questions.

The sixth finding is that the Minority Group Hypothesis and other corollary hypotheses related to Asian American political participation at the racial level may likely need to be expanded or altered to account for differences in the relationships between

ethnicity and partisan political views. As outlined in Tables 6 and 7, respondents' experience of discriminatory microaggressions had a statistically significant relationship in predicting both whether the respondent voted in 2016 and whether they voted for Clinton over other candidates. This would seem to indicate that the Minority Group Hypothesis, in which experience of discrimination is a strong determiner for political participation, did appear to hold true among the overall sample population. Unfortunately, given the relatively small sample size of respondents for each ethnicity, it was not possible to effectively test the relevance of microaggression levels within specific ethnic communities. Yet, the significance of ethnicity in shaping partisan political views may indicate that ethnicity-based discrimination may also be a factor, along with race-based discrimination, in influencing both whether individuals vote and what policies they support. This leads to numerous questions regarding the relationship between race and ethnicity as well as between political participation and partisan views. As the Minority Group Hypothesis currently incorporates historical memory of community-wide discrimination beyond individual experience, does this apply for historical discrimination experienced by any Asian American group or only for an individuals' ethnic community? For example, does historical discrimination against Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans affect political participation and partisan views among Bangladeshi Americans? Do ethnic groups who receive significantly higher levels of discrimination, above the overall average of all Asian Americans, vote more frequently or more liberally? If experience of discrimination decreases at either the individual or community level, will this result in less frequent participation and/or more conservative voting? Will individuals channel partisan political issue support via Asian

American political groups, ethnicity-specific political groups, or issue- or ideology-groups without ethnic or racial affiliations? Will the impact of discrimination vary significantly by partisan issue? These questions cannot be answered by the results of this current study. However, these questions highlight the need for an expansion of existing theories of Asian American political action in light of the more complex experience of individuals and communities.

VI. Conclusion

This study revealed that, among survey respondents, each Asian American ethnic community had a unique interactive relationship with the political landscape. This emerged from the unique role ethnicity played in impacting each individual respondent's partisan political views. Aggregation of these views into an umbrella Asian American category overlooks this uniqueness and ignores the diversity of views among individuals and communities that identify as Asian American. This can lead politicians to under-represent important views and critical communities based on an only partial understanding of Asian Americans as a broader constituency group. Particularly since the 2012 presidential election, both the Republican and Democratic Parties have looked to influence and capture votes from Asian American communities in critical swing districts (particularly in suburban neighborhoods outside major metropolitan areas) and in swing states. Yet, most popular political analyses treat Asian Americans as a single monolithic voting bloc to be "wooed" by major parties (Moore 2013; Desai 2018; Fuchs 2018; Jones 2018; Merica 2018). This can lead political operatives and representatives to focus outreach at the imagined views of an imagined 'average' Asian American voter. While some individuals and some whole ethnic communities may hold views roughly analogous

to this imagined 'average' Asian American voter, other communities certainly do not. In doing so, popular political writers, may tap into assumptions built in engaging Latino/Latina American and African American communities, and transposing them to Asian American communities. Yet, the broad diversity in languages, religions, and historical experience across the different Asian American ethnic groups may make racial aggregation a less relevant political grouping than may be the case for Latino/Latina American communities (sharing the same set of languages) and African American communities (sharing the historical heritage of slavery and—for later immigrant arrivals—broad-based racial disenfranchisement and suppression). These latter groups also display significant amounts of internal diversity that is worthy of more detailed and nuanced analysis, though this cannot be treated on in this current study.

The existing established theories on Asian American participation may unintentionally encourage these aggregate race-centered popular views, by centering theories on the overall Asian American community. The Minority Group Hypothesis, originally developed to explain the political participation rates of Latino/Latina American communities, has been transposed and adopted to explain Asian American communities' political participation. Many academics have done great work to effectively frame the corollaries to the Minority Group Hypothesis around the Asian American experience. There have also been several descriptive studies of the experience of individual local ethnic communities and the broader historical experience of ethnic communities in the United States. However, few academics have examined how the experience of ethnic communities impacts partisan political views or how this impact should be incorporated

into the larger theories related to Asian Americans writ-large. Existing theories, then, do not effectively explain the diversity in partisan political views across ethnic communities.

This current study does not argue on behalf of a specific new theory or theory corollary. However, the study's findings do indicate that ethnicity does play a significant role in impacting partisan political views among Asian Americans. This is not meant to disavow the validity of the Minority Group Hypothesis or its corollaries. As the study's testing of voting rates shows, the tenants of these theories do indeed seem to be evidenced by the data—in that experience of discrimination impacts participation rates as well as more liberal voting and that foreign born individuals are less likely to vote than those born in the United States. Yet, there are a more complex series of causal relationships incorporating individuals' ethnicity than can be explained using the current theories.

This study's findings indicate the unique relationship between ethnicity and partisan political views which are deserving of additional study using a broader set of instruments and a larger sample population size within each ethnic group. While this study took into account income, education, age, and foreign birth, there are many additional socio-economic and cultural factors which could have interactive or major relationships with ethnicity. Possible other factors include, but are certainly not limited to, family structure (e.g., frequency of interaction among younger and older generations; married versus single respondents), sexual identity, religion, importance of religion to sense of being[21], identification as multi-racial or as part of a multi-racial spousal

[21] The NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey did incorporate a question on respondents' religious identity. However, there were several issues with this data that prevented it from being usable for this study. In the religious identity question, respondents could either select among several given religious groups or provide a free answer response. In the group selection portion, respondents could select between numerous

relationship, and sense of economic unease. Each of these factors could have an impact on framing one or more partisan political views either across the overall Asian American community or within individual ethnic communities.

This study relies on examining "ethnicity" as it is categorized in NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey, which pegs individuals' ethnicity as emerging from their ancestors' national country of origin, by limiting the choices of ethnic identification. For each of the ten Asian American ethnic communities, only one—Hmong Americans—cannot be exactly aligned to a formal geopolitical nationality (originating from an internationally-recognized country). This is a significant limitation of the data, and does not recognize the broad diversity that may exist among "ethnic" communities in the United States. There may be significant differences, for example, between Cantonese Americans, Hakka Americans, Hui Americans, and Han Americans—each distinct ethno-regional groups originating from China—which are collectively identified as Chinese Americans in this study and in most other academic analyses. Similarly, within the Indian American community, individuals or their ancestors may originate from such diverse cultural areas as Gujarat, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, or Tamil Nadhu yet all be labeled collectively as Indian American, either through self-identification or through survey-imposed categorization. Diversity in culture may be found in any of the ethnic communities analyzed in this study. Taking this a step further, within ethnic or sub-ethnic communities

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Christian denominations (including a vast diversity Protestant and Evangelical churches) but could only select among a small number of non-Christian groups. Additionally, many historically Asian religious, spiritual, or philosophical groups were not provided as options (e.g., Shinto, Daoism, Shamanism were excluded) or were only presented as large, diverse categories (e.g., Islam, Buddhism) which did not mirror the diversity of Christian denomination options. Thus, many respondents provided free answer responses rather than selecting from the given options. These free answer responses were captured verbatim by the surveyors (including with various spellings of likely the same religious identity, such as "Shaman", "Shman" (sic), "Shamanist"), and they did not code these individual responses into categories. Given the complexity of individual religious identity as well as the interaction between religious identity and political or social views, a more comprehensive data set and a more detailed analysis is warranted.

there may be significant variations in cultural views and practices, which may, in turn, impact partisan political views. Examining the constituent sub-communities within each broader ethnic community may reveal critical new information about the intersection of cultural background and partisan political views. However, just as over-aggregation of groups can be taken too far, so too can dis-aggregation, leading to data that is too specific to be used for theoretical or practical application. Yet, recognizing and analyzing diversity is important to understanding the complex factors and processes that go into the development of partisan political views. Future surveys could do more to explore these factors and their impact.

Shifting from the independent variables to the dependent variables, while this study examined five partisan political variables, this does not begin to approach the breadth of policy issues relevant to the current American political landscape. Additional studies could expand the number and diversity of political issues assessed in order to get a deeper understanding of the interplay between ethnicity and partisan political views, and to determine whether additional trends emerge. This may reveal similar trends in ethnicity significance—perhaps, for example, among social issues—or could reveal whole new critical findings that were not indicated in the current study.

A major issue that could not be examined with the data in the NAAS 2016 Post-Election Survey was the effect of location residency and size of local Asian American or ethnic community on partisan political views. It is possible that these may have a major effect on the salience of ethnicity. For example, the significance of ethnicity may be impacted by the geographic concentration of community individuals in a few minority-majority neighborhoods, as is the case for many Vietnamese Americans in Southern

California. For these individuals, the adoption of similar views among ethnic community members may be a result of close proximity and frequent interaction which may not exist for other ethnic communities that are more widely distributed around the country. Additionally, it may be possible that ethnic community members, rather than developing and adopting views from among other co-ethnic individuals, may in fact be absorbing the political views and mores of non-co-ethnic or non-Asian American community members. Using a potential Southern California example, Vietnamese American communities in Orange County may have adopted the more conservative views of non-Asian American voters in the traditionally Republican-leaning Orange County, while communities such as Chinese Americans or Korean Americans living in more traditionally liberal counties around the Los Angeles Basin may have adopted more liberal views (Merica 2018; Nguyen 2018). Ethnicity, as an explanatory variable, then, may be capturing critical information about geographic location and concentration of communities, beyond ethno-cultural factors. This could be analyzed by comparing the partisan political views of members of the same ethnicity across districts with different Cook Partisan Voting Index scores in order to separate out the geographic acculturative effects from those of ethnicity alone.

Studying the interplay of these various factors is critical in projecting how Asian American voters may impact future electoral outcomes. As first generation immigrants' children disperse across the United States and as Asian American communities grow in key battleground districts, the political clout of Asian Americans writ-large can be expected to increase. Enhanced understanding of Asian American individuals' political views could have an influence not only on academic theory development but also in

helping to identify and recognize the importance of Asian American constituents in the broader political discourse. Rather than political parties looking to influence or capture votes based on a simplified, speculative view of an 'average' Asian American, analysis of views among diverse ethnic communities could enable community members to attain broader influence over the policies pursued by their political representatives and of the existing major political parties. Both academic understanding and the interests of effective representative democracy may be served via a deeper analysis of diverse Asian American ethnic communities.

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Curriculum Vita

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- Led teams to deliver strategic solutions to clients in the defense, national security, and homeland security sectors
- Developed new product offerings and thought leadership pieces for Deloitte's Strategy Service Line to better serve Federal clients
- Served as relationship owner with clients across agencies, resulting in expansion of Deloitte's strategic position
- Designed holistic enterprise risk management strategy for a homeland security client to identify and prioritize threats, vulnerabilities, and mitigation activities
- Provided strategic advice and planning for managing defense client's multi-million dollar acquisition portfolio during time of organizational transition
- Created customer segmentation framework and engagement strategy to enhance national security client's impact and influence among under-served customer groups
- Empowered clients to understand the impact of rapid changes in the federal and commercial ecosystems on strategic plans and daily operations

All-Source Intelligence Specialist—United States Air Force, 547th Intelligence Squadron

- Employment Dates: September 2013 to July 2015
- Led teams of up to 20 military and civilian personnel to conduct reviews of current operational practices and design implementation plans for multi-million dollar Department of Defense projects
- Crafted and presented oral reports to 700+ military and civilian personnel to improve combat capacity
- Advised US and Allied units in EUCOM, AFRICOM, PACOM, and STRATCOM on counter-tactics and emerging threats
- Provided timely threat warning and analysis in support of ongoing combat missions in Operation Inherent Resolve

Assistant for Chinese Strategic Reports and Publications—Dr. Michael Pillsbury

- Employment Dates: April 2013 to October 2015
- Wrote chapters for "The Hundred Year Marathon" by Dr. Michael Pillsbury, published by Henry Holt and Co.
- Composed sections of two Strategic Reports requested by the Director of DoD Office of Net Assessment
- Conducted research based on American national security material and Chinese strategic documents in order to provide strategic policy advice to US Government officials and agencies

Independent Contractor & War Game Facilitator—Johns Hopkins SAIS Hertog Summer Study

- Employment Dates: August 2012
- Led working-group of 15 members including Senior Field Grade Officers, intelligence analysts, and public policy representatives to produce strategic recommendations for the DoD Office of Net Assessment
- Designed war game which modeled current and future military capabilities in the Western Pacific

Analyst for Chinese Military Affairs—Potomac Foundation

- Employment Dates: June to August 2012
- Collaborated with clients in the defense and private sectors to produce reports on Chinese military development
- Created a system of open-source imagery analysis to fulfill Department of Defense tasking

Assistant Coordinator for Executive and Professional Programs—Georgetown University McCourt School of Public Policy, Center for Public and Nonprofit Leadership

- Employment Dates: August 2011 to March 2012
- Researched and presented NGO-related issues to international clients from nonprofit and public sector
- Managed outreach programs to representatives of government, non-profit, and private sectors

Overseas Teacher in the People's Republic of China—Learning Enterprises-China

- Employment Dates: July to August 2011
- Taught courses on English language and American culture to 50 students in Chinese village
- Coordinated and communicated with local Chinese government officials to enable success of teaching program

Congressional Intern for National Security and Intelligence Desks—Office of Congressman Mike Thompson, California 1st District (currently California 5th District)

- Employment Dates: September to December 2010
- Conducted research and attended briefings on defense, national security, and international trade issues
- Created policy-briefs for Congressman and legislative staff, including reports on Trans-Pacific relations building